

VOLUME 25

MARCH, 1947

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Published four times a year, October, December, March, May for

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

By THE WILLIAMS & WILKINS COMPANY, Baltimore, Maryland, U. S. A.

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VOLUME 25, NO. 3

SOCIAL FORCES

A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation

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Communications for the Editors, and all manuscripts, should be addressed to THE EDITORS, SOCIAL FORCES, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. Business communications should be addressed to The Williams & Wilkins Company, Baltimore, Md.

SOCIAL FORCES

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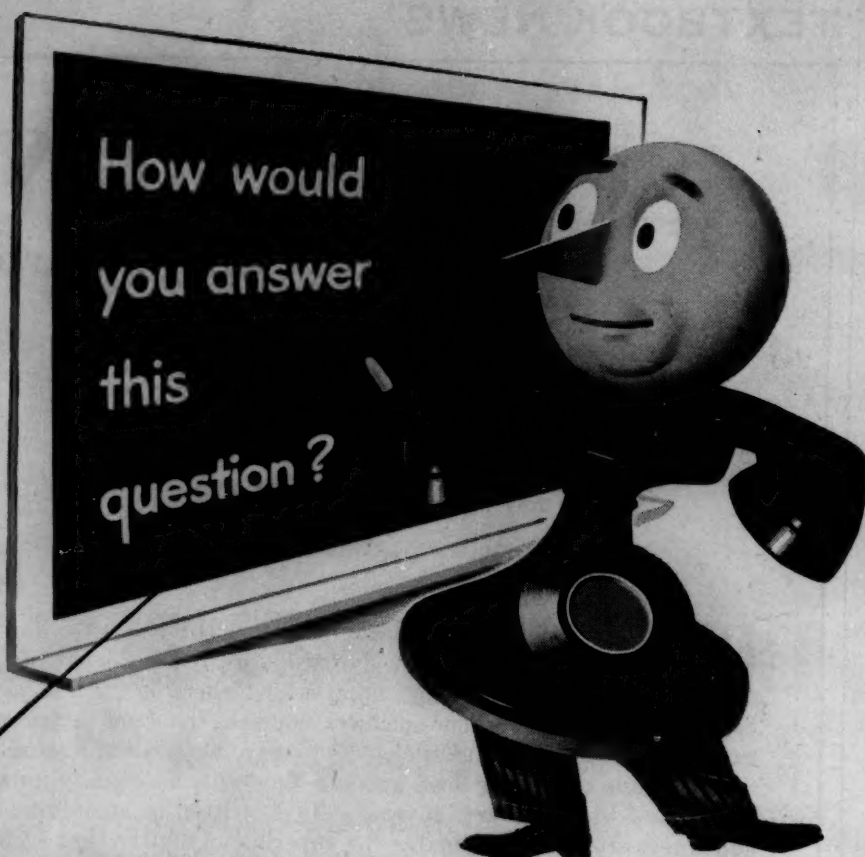
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SOCIAL FORCES

March, 1947

MODERN LATIN AMERICAN CULTURE

JOHN GILLIN

University of North Carolina

A MATTER of some significance in the modern world which has not perhaps been fully explored is the probability, amounting almost to a self-evident fact, that two large and distinct areas of culture have developed and are continuing to develop in the Western Hemisphere. Northward of the boundary of Mexico we find the great area of Anglo-American culture (to use the term frequently employed by Latin American writers and other outside observers), whereas Middle and South America comprise the region of Latin American culture (to use no more picturesque term).

It does not seem that we are engaging in empty polemics when we say that one of the reasons for the difficulty of North Americans in understanding the Latin Americans better than we do is our failure to recognize or to identify properly the cultures of Latin America as cultures in their own right. It is at least a tenable hypothesis that we make a fundamental error when we assume that Latin America is on the road toward developing into merely a Spanish-speaking version of the United States. Of course, it may be said, and with considerable truth, that we do not understand *ourselves* from the cultural point of view. Perhaps we do not sufficiently understand culture as culture, despite the labors of the social anthropologists and other social scientists. But these are matters which cannot be debated within the restricted scope of this article.

At least North Americans have some familiarity with their own culture, even though they may not understand fully its basic patterns and premises. And on the basis of their own mode of life they are often wont to make snap judgments concerning the fundamental configurations of the patterns of living south of the border. This has often proven to be a serious error, not only on the personal level, but also and more spectacularly, in the realm of national policy.

Since a culture is an organization of patterns of custom whereby people think and carry out the activities of daily life, a realistic comprehension of what is going on in Latin America has the pragmatic values of enabling us to understand what happens there after the fact and to come nearer to a reliable prediction of events before the fact, to mention no other advantages.

It is always dangerous to generalize briefly about cultures except on the basis of the soundest and most complete analysis of facts gathered in the field and from other sources. Therefore, the present remarks concerning Latin American culture and certain of its regional and substantive aspects are explicitly tentative; they are hypotheses, as it were, amenable to testing by more research. In fact, their main purpose is to serve as guides for the collection and analysis of more data according to modern methods.

First, it seems that both North America and Latin America share a sufficient number of certain patterns to enable them to be included within the area and broad general pattern of that culture we call Western Civilization. When that is said, however, it would appear that they represent varieties, and rather divergent ones at that, of this general organization of life. They follow different roads; they use distinct vehicles.

Our tendency and that of most Europeans has been to identify the modern way of life in Latin America, either with some indigenous configuration or with European civilization in one or other of its European national traditions. We have persisted in viewing the Latin Americans either as degenerate Indians struggling with the ruins of a conquest-wrecked native culture or as tainted Iberians fumbling with the traditions of Spain and Portugal. It is as if, since "angel food" cake contains appreciable amounts of sugar and beaten eggs, we should refuse to recognize it as an angel food cake, but insist on considering it

either an omelet or a chunk of candy. The general culture of our southern neighbors seems to be neither basically Indian (except in tribally organized communities) nor is it basically Spanish, Portuguese, or "modern European"—except within the walls of luxury hotels and on the boulevards of capital cities.

Latin American seems a better term to apply to the new culture than the word "mestizo," which, although it has often been used with reference to culture, basically implies racial mixture. Although genetic hybridization has everywhere paralleled the development of the Latin American culture, it is not a necessary cause of the latter, and the use of the term *mestizo* tends to confuse biological and cultural processes. At the present time the culture is not practised only by mixed bloods: some pure whites, on the one hand, and some pure Indians, on the other hand, as well as most *mestizos* participate in the development and performance of the Latin American culture. And there is no reason to believe that the processes of genetic mixture do or will proceed hand in hand with the processes of cultural development. In fact, most of the indications are that the Latin American culture is growing toward an integrated configuration more rapidly than is the *mestizo* race. Finally, although modern Latin American culture is undoubtedly a mixture of elements from a number of different sources, so is every other culture of modern times. Dubbing a culture "mixed" or "mestizo" tends to slight the new and original elements, it tends to draw attention away from the processes of reinterpretation and synthesis, which are the very aspects of the new culture which we most need to understand.

The Latin American cultures seem to have a common general framework and a common tone which enables them to be seen collectively as a cultural design distinctive from that of other varieties of Western Civilization. Although the Portuguese colonization of Brazil followed lines somewhat different from the Spanish colonization and involved some distinct cultural values¹ (e.g., a tolerance of race mixture and of native and Negro culture, a looser political organization, a freer interpretation of European family patterns and morality, etc.), we may tentatively postulate that Brazilian culture of the present day conforms more closely to the general Latin American type than to

any other. However, in the present article we shall focus mainly upon the culture of the regions which were former Spanish colonies.

There the similarities in the cultures are apparently due to the Spanish elements which are common to their composition and which were involved in their development during three centuries or so under Spanish Colonial control. Thus all are nominally Roman Catholic, and many of the details of content and organization are those of Iberian Catholicism as distinguished from the North European type: e.g., cult of the saints, public fiestas and parades, greater development of sodalities (*cofradías*, *hermandades*, etc.), more emphasis upon monastic orders, and so on. Of course the Spanish language itself with sundry modifications has become a part of Latin American culture. Ideologically this culture is humanistic, rather than puritanical, if such a contrast is permissible. Intellectually, it is characterized by logic and dialectics, rather than by empiricism and pragmatics; the word is valued more highly than the thing; the manipulation of symbols (as in argument) is more cultivated than the manipulation of natural forces and objects (as in mechanics). Patterns of medieval and sixteenth century mysticism are strong in the culture, and these patterns show no inconsistency with those of argumentation, for, as with the medieval scholastics, the worth of the logic lies in the manipulation of concepts, not in the empirical investigation of premises. It is partly for this reason, I believe, that ideas from abroad find more ready acceptance in the Latin American culture than artifacts and their associated techniques. The use of modern medical words and the manipulation of verbal legal concepts, for example, are more advanced than the practical techniques involved with them in North America.²

If we were to analyze the Latin American culture as a whole we would find a vast variety of ideas, derived from numerous sources—ideas from the Enlightenment; from the French and American Revolutions; and, more recently, from Marxism, etc. The content of the ideas themselves is in many cases not Spanish, but the patterns of argumentation probably represent heritages from Spain.

On the more mundane level of life, we see other

¹ Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), especially chap. 1.

² Cf., John Gillin, *Moche: A Peruvian Coastal Community*, Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Publ. 3, 1947 (in press).

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Spanish or Spanish Colonial patterns fixed in the Latin American culture. For example, in town planning the "plaza plan" rather than the "main street" plan; in family organization, official male dominance, double standard of sex morality, functioning patterns of ceremonial kinship (godparenthood and the like); in the preeminence of the ox and the ass as traction and transport animals; in certain features of domestic architecture, e.g., the patio or courtyard in some form, the barred window, the house front flush with the street or sidewalk; in the broad-brimmed hat either of felt or straw; in the use of cloth head covering by women such as mantilla, head shawl or decorative towel, either universally or on certain ceremonial occasions (as in church); in the preference for the singlehanded plow in agriculture; in specific concepts of "personal honor" and emphasis upon form in interpersonal relations; in the patterns of Roman law and certain political statutes still persisting from the colonial system; etc.

Certainly these remarks are not to be taken as a substitute for a formal analysis of the Latin American culture. But they are intended to suggest that it is a synthesis of elements drawn from various sources and that the Spanish stamp gives to many of its areal forms at least a certain external uniformity.

Although the Latin American culture is found in all nations of Middle and South America (except the European Guianas), its areal, regional, and local forms vary and are distinguishable among themselves. This seems to be primarily because the natural environments of the various regions and localities differ among themselves and, even more perhaps, because the indigenous components of the regional cultures derive from aboriginally distinct configurations. Thus it is that the Latin American cultures of Guatemala and Peru, for example, while sharing a common set of Iberian elements, are nonetheless distinguishable, because the one contains many patterns of Maya origin while the other is colored by its Inca heritage. And within each such area one recognizes subconfigurations associated respectively with regions and localities. Thus, although the Inca culture of the Empire covered both the coast and the highland of Peru, one recognizes a Latin American culture of the coast and of highland, respectively, in the present day. On the coast, again, one may

distinguish local differences between the North Coast and the Central Coast, for instance.

Added to these historical components (Spanish and indigenous) the Latin American culture since Independence and particularly during the present century has received increasing increments in the form of patterns contributed by the cultures of North America and Northern Europe—from the mechanical, industrial, empirical, Protestant, democratic, secular phases of Western Civilization—which Spain was incapable of transmitting or which Spanish policy endeavored to bar from the New World.

In certain regions where indigenous cultural influence is still strong, it is probably correct to say that there are two types of cultures, generally speaking. This is particularly true of parts of modern Guatemala, interior Yucatan and Chiapas, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and parts of Brazil. To such patterns of life we might apply the term "Republican Native culture" in the sense which Kubler, speaking of Peru, uses "Republican Quechua."³ These cultures, wherever found, are not aboriginal as they were before the Conquest. Each has absorbed elements from Western Civilization, if nothing more than dependence upon certain types of trade goods, such as factory-made cloth in the Amazon Valley or aniline dyes among some groups on the Andean and Middle American highlands who still weave their own cloth according to the aboriginal patterns. Furthermore, the organization of each of these "native" cultures has been affected by the impact of European political and social controls, either directly or indirectly. Nevertheless, the Republican Native cultures are still predominantly indigenous both in content and emphasis. In Peru, Ecuador, Guatemala, and the Amazon where the writer has had some experience, it is generally recognized that an individual has ceased to practice a Native culture when he no longer lives in a tribe or communally organized group (such as an ayllu, in Peru), no longer wears a "native" costume, and when he no longer speaks some indigenous language either exclusively or as his primary tongue. Like all symbols these generally recognized status marks, of

³ George Kubler, "The Quechua in the Colonial World," *Handbook of South American Indians* (Washington, 1946), vol. 2, pp. 331-410; the Republican Quechua have been described by Bernard Mishkin, "The Contemporary Quechua," *ibid.*, pp. 411-70.

course, suggest rather than describe the differences between the cultures which they represent.

With the passage of time and the diffusion of modern Latin American cultural traits many a local situation has changed from the Republican Native to the Latin American side of the line. For example, Moche (Peru) which a generation ago was predominantly Native is now predominantly Latin American.⁴ Redfield's studies⁵ in Yucatan revealed a series of four communities ranging from the interior Tuzik, predominantly Native in culture, through intermediate situations to the city of Mérida, which long since became definitely Latin American in cultural content and organization. In this connection, it will be remembered that Redfield emphasizes the distinction between "folk culture type" which exhibits sacredness and homogeneity and the urban culture type which shows secularity and heterogeneity. In the opinion of the present writer this valuable distinction should not be confused with questions of culture content and the fundamental patterns of life. To a large extent the difference between the folk configuration of the culture and the urban configuration is due to adaptations which must be made in what we may call the "social component" of the situations in which a given culture is practised. Thus the criterion of homogeneity, for example, is usually impossible of attainment in urban situations, with large populations.

Nevertheless, despite specialization and lack of pervadingly intimate contacts, Redfield shows that many persons in the city of Mérida follow patterns of custom and belief which are not essentially different from those found in more homogeneous form in the folk culture of Chan Kom, for instance. The present writer likewise has found in the city of Lima, Peru, that the practises and beliefs of the majority of persons with whom he came in contact were part of the Latin American orientation (called creolism or *criollismo* in Peru), even though the urban social situation differed from that of the plantations and small towns. In other words, it seems that we may speak of Latin American culture as being manifested in various types of social situations. In rural communities we frequently see its "folk phase." In cities it is often exhibited in an "urban phase." The same is true, of course, of

the Anglo-American culture of North America, where the general culture of the area is displayed in rural form, in small communities, and in cities. All varieties of Western Civilization show this range.

The penetration of Republican Native cultures by the Latin American culture and their incorporation in the new synthesis takes various forms at the present time. In certain situations the Native culture is slowly infiltrated and its structure and orientations gradually shifted. This seems to be the process in Mitla, as described by Parsons.⁶ In other cases brakes are put upon the process of acculturation in the form of caste-like barriers between the practitioners of the Native culture and those performing Latin American culture. The caste-like relationships of *cholos* and whites with Indians on the Peruvian highlands around the city of Cuzco, and the similar definition of the situation as between *Ladinos* and Indians in at least one community of Guatemala are cases in point.⁷

The Latin American culture in general (ignoring for the moment its regional and local subtypes and its various "phases") is still in process of consolidation. The society which it serves is a class society and the culture manifests itself in various forms which are related to the various categories of the society, as well as in geographical and social peculiarities. Thus many of the members of the "sophisticated," "cosmopolitan" set in Lima, for example, might perhaps at first deny any Latin American (Creole) content in their culture, for much of their prestige depends upon their having assimilated the manners and mode of life of such "cultural centers" as New York or Paris. Yet it is probable that a careful study would reveal the presence in the higher social strata of certain cultural common denominators of the Creole culture of Peru (the term most employed

⁴ Elsie Clews Parsons, *Mitla, Town of the Souls* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936).

⁷ For Peru, see Mishkin, *op. cit.*, and Francisco Ponce de Leon, Sistema de arrendamiento de terrenos de cultivo en el Departamento del Cuzco y el problema de la distribución, *Revista Universitaria* (Cuzco), Año xxiii, No. 67, pp. 109-140; in Guatemala: John Gillin, "Parallel Cultures and the Inhibitions to Acculturation in a Guatemalan Community," *Social Forces*, Vol. 24 (1945), pp. 1-14; Tumin, Melvin, Notes on San Luis Jilotepeque, Manuscripts on Middle American Cultural Anthropology, No. 2 (microfilm, University of Chicago Libraries, 1946).

⁴ Gillin, *op. cit.*

⁵ Robert Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

in that country to refer to the Latin American culture). Identification with the Latin American culture will become a matter of pride in such circles, even as it already has in many others.

For our hypothesis is that the Latin American culture is not a servile copying of either foreign or indigenous models, but a new and vigorous expression of modern life. In Peru, for example, this is what is actually meant by the word *Peruanidad*, aside from its purely nationalistic and political significance. Much of the truculence displayed by Argentina can perhaps be viewed as an attempt to stake out and gain recognition for the Argentinian variety of the Latin American culture. Underlying the trappings of militarism and dictatorship there seems to be discernible a strong desire to defend the Argentinian (i.e., Latin American) way of life and point of view. From one standpoint Perón and his coterie may be regarded as an instrument for the development of the underlying values of the Latin American culture, and it seems that much of his recent popular support within his own country may lie in this attitude.

In certain of the Spanish-speaking portions of the Latin American area a number of "movements" have arisen whose object has been to halt the trend toward a new culture and whose publicity has occasionally confused the foreign observer. Thus, "Indigenismo" would have it that the future lies in strengthening and preserving the Republican Native culture and even in fortifying the indigenous elements thereof. This movement has developed mainly in the Andean countries and Mexico. On the other hand the proponents of "Hispanismo" would see the true cultural future in a return to the fundamentals of the classic Spanish culture. This view has been propagated for political purposes by agents of the present Spanish regime, but there are some Spanish Americans who were honestly convinced of this solution even before the recent spread of Falangist propaganda. The partisans of "Modernismo," finally, would do away with indigenous and colonial elements alike, and convert Latin America into a Spanish-speaking United States (or a Spanish-speaking version of some European country of their predilection).

It is doubtful whether any of these movements will ever completely attain its objective in the sense that any of these cultures for which the proponents respectively argue will become exclusive and universal in Latin America. But, if

these enthusiasts will examine the emerging Latin American culture, they will see that something from each of their favorite cultures has been woven into the fabric of Latin American life.

With respect to the European components of Latin American cultures, at least in the Spanish speaking areas, one point is to be borne in mind. These components have come from two European or Western contexts, generally speaking: Spain of the Colonial Period and modern Western Civilization. The first type of European cultural element is usually numerous and has an important influence in the coloration and orientation of Latin American culture, especially in its rural or peasant phases. Much of the impression of "quaintness" which a modern North American or North European receives from the Latin American culture is, I believe, to be explained by the presence of these Colonial Spanish aspects of behavior and belief, with which such an observer is usually quite unfamiliar.

It must be remembered that the Renaissance and the Enlightenment reached Spain much later than other nations of Western Europe, and that their Spanish forms were somewhat attenuated when they finally appeared. The Reformation, of course, made no headway in Spain, and modern mercantilism and capitalism have not become dominant influences in Spanish culture even today. In short, the medieval, feudal, Catholic cast of European culture persisted in Spain during most of the Colonial Period in America. Furthermore, the monopolistic and restrictive policy followed by the Crown prohibited the export to the colonies of many of the innovations and "modernisms" which finally did take root in the culture of the "mother country." The result is that for nearly 300 years the emerging cultures of the colonies were on the receiving end of a steady inflow of European culture patterns funneled out of Spain, but the funnel, we might say, was equipped with several strainers which served to select only certain elements for transmission to the New World. Spain itself rejected much of the newly developing modern culture of the rest of Western Europe, and its official policy restrained the flow to the colonies. Thus it is that the European elements absorbed into the Latin American culture were on the whole more characteristic of sixteenth century Spain or medieval Europe than of twentieth century Western Europe and North America. The free chance to borrow from the latter cultural sources came

only with Independence and, for the West Coast of South America, has been effective only during the past thirty years or so, at the beginning of which period the opening of the Panama Canal first provided relatively rapid and frequent import of shipments, travelers, mail, and cultural influences in general from Europe and North America. Succeeding development of air communication and radio reception has placed the Latin Americans in even closer touch with "modern" European and North American culture, while the development of good highway communications within some parts of the region has served to diffuse these innovations.

As a very tentative and preliminary attempt to define the general content of the Latin American culture, Mr. William Davidson, in another article in this issue, has endeavored to document certain features which seem to be more or less universal to Latin American culture and which contrast with North American culture.

In summary the postulates set forth in this paper may be put down informally as follows:

1. We postulate that a major variety of Western Civilization has emerged and is continuing to develop and that it covers a large "culture area" involving a major part of the Western Hemisphere south of the United States' borders. This pattern of life is assumed to be distinguished from other major varieties of Western Culture not only in "content" (i.e., distinctive traits, complexes, and institutions), but also in specific features of organization and orientation.

2. Subsidiary configurations or subcultural manifestations within the general pattern of Latin American culture may be found, differentiated on the following bases: (a) geographical varieties,

which take the form of areal, regional, and local exhibits, differing among themselves mainly because of exigencies of environmental adaptation; (b) historical colorations, depending principally upon (1) the native pre-colombian culture of the region, and (2) whether the region was first settled by Spanish or Portuguese; (c) social "phases" of the general Latin American culture, differing as to whether it is practised under rural, small community, or urban social conditions.

3. Parallel to the emerging Latin American culture are to be found, in certain areas, Republican Native cultures, which are actually acculturated versions of aboriginal configurations; it is postulated that these are or will be in process of absorption into the general pattern of Latin American culture.

4. Because the content, organization, values, and orientation of general Latin American culture differ in significant respects from the general pattern of North American (or Anglo-American) culture, efficient cooperation and friendly relations between inhabitants of these two areas depend upon analysis and mutual understanding of their respective cultural configurations.

5. Intensive research is needed to clarify the fundamentals, not only of North American culture, but also of Latin American culture.

It is granted that the hypotheses thus advanced may be illusory. Nevertheless, scientific endeavors applied to the cultural configurations of North America and Latin America will be able to "prove" or "disprove" our assumptions and to elucidate the details. It is suggested that such studies might well occupy the attention of social and historical scientists.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Graduate courses in sociology have been inaugurated at Princeton for the first time this year. A more complete program of graduate work will be established by next year, and opportunities for training and research will be enhanced by cooperation with several research organizations of the University: The Office of Population Research, the Industrial Relations Section, and the Office of Public Opinion Research.

RURAL LATIN AMERICAN CULTURE

WILLIAM DAVIDSON

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IN THE preceding paper Dr. Gillin has set forth certain hypotheses regarding a general configuration of culture which we may call Latin American. In this paper the present writer proposes to document certain traits which seem to be characteristic of this culture. The documentation is necessarily preliminary. For one thing, modern Latin American communities have not been subject to anthropological study on a large scale and the number of sources is therefore limited. In the second place, the present article is intended more as a demonstration of a type of work which may be carried on intensively for the purpose of analyzing the content and organization of what is postulated as a new and emergent culture throughout Latin America.

Even so, as one reads the books of travelers and the scientific monographs which are available, he becomes aware of a series of recurring cultural patterns which appear over and over again in Latin American cultural situations. This becomes even more obvious as one travels in Latin America personally. To render these impressions explicit and amenable to check, therefore, is the primary purpose of this paper. I propose to document these traits from a small number of published sources some of which are still in press and have been made available to me in manuscript. As a further check, which could doubtlessly be duplicated by many other travelers, I note observations made personally in a series of towns visited by me in Mexico and Guatemala.

In Guatemala and most of Middle America the culture, to which Gillin gives the general name of Latin American, is called the Ladino culture; in Peru, for example, it is called Creole.

I have chosen to present a listing of cultural elements belonging to the rural phase of culture. The difficulties of making such a list can be easily recognized by the ethnologist. Particularly is this the case where the Ladino culture exists alongside of an almost purely aboriginal culture and in other instances in an urban civilization. With these difficulties clearly in mind some simple criteria may be used in determining what will be the limits of this listing. The criteria are:

1. This study will be limited to the *rural* phase of culture.

2. The elements themselves must fill the requirement that they be essential to a complete description of the rural phase of Latin American culture and that their mere presence is important in distinguishing this culture from others.

Finally, it must be stressed that this paper represents a tentative study that cannot in any way be considered complete. It is being presented at this time for the primary purpose of setting the problem before the students of ethnology and to stimulate future study along this line. The scientific identification and appreciation of the culture that exists in vast areas of our hemisphere is of the greatest importance both to the student of human culture and to the general public as well.

I. MATERIAL ASPECTS

A. *The Plaza System.* The Latin American community is almost invariably situated about a central plaza. Facing this plaza are the church, the government buildings, and the homes of the more prominent members of the community. Close proximity to the plaza is regarded as being very desirable and a person's social status can almost be determined by the distance of his home from this plaza. Not only is the plaza usually the physical or geographical center of the town, but also is it the social center. About the plaza centers all the social or communal undertakings of the community. It is the scene of Sunday night gatherings of the young people; of the numerous fiestas and religious festivals that take place; and finally during crisis and times of emergency the people gather there. (Biesanz, 1944, pp. 29-30; Gillin, 1943, p. 349; Gillin, 1945, p. 3 (see plan of San Luis Jilotepeque); Gillin, 1947 (Moche); Parsons, 1945, p. 9; Redfield, 1930, p. 19; Redfield, 1941, pp. 26, 40-41, 48; author's observations: Mexico—Villa Union, Sinaloa; Guatemala—San Luis Jilotepeque, Jalapa).

B. *Architecture.* The home is usually located flush on the street. The floors are of cement or tile and the roofs of tile also. The walls are mostly plastered upon a base of stone or adobe bricks. Flat roofs occur almost without exception. In the better homes high ceilings, interior patios, and wide divided doors, and iron

grills are found. (Biesanz, 1944, p. 26; Gillin, 1943, p. 351; Gillin, 1945, p. 4; Gillin, 1946, ms., pp. 6-7; Parsons, 1945, p. 178; Redfield, 1930, pp. 32-33; author's observations: Mexico—Alamos, Sonora; Guatemala—San Pedro Pinula, Jalapa).

C. *Small Land Unit*. The basic land unit in rural communities is a small plot usually having irregular boundaries. These are generally individually owned and also are worked by their owners. However, it is common practice to use Indian labor in their cultivation where available. Communal ownership is rare among practitioners of this culture. In Mexico and Central America this land unit is called the *milpa*. (Gillin, 1946, ms., pp. 3-6; Parsons, 1945, pp. 18, 20; Redfield, 1930, pp. 19, 23; Redfield, 1941, pp. 7, 120; author's observations: Guatemala—San Luis Jilotepeque, Jalapa).

D. *Mais*. Corn is the staff of life for the Ladino. Much of his life is centered about or related to the production, storage, and preparation of corn. Production and preparation techniques vary slightly from region to region. There is a wide variety of preparation which includes the basic use of gruels, flat baked cakes (tortillas), and eating the corn on the cob. (Biesanz, 1944, pp. 31-32; Gillin, 1943; Gillin, 1946, ms.; Parsons, 1936, pp. 51-53; Parsons, 1945, pp. 21-23; Redfield, 1930, pp. 15-16, 39; Redfield, 1941, pp. 6, 88-89; author's observations: Guatemala—San Luis Jilotepeque, Jalapa).

E. *Animals*. Most of the transportation and motive power is by means of the horse, mule, and burro. The ox is used in plowing and also to pull heavy carts. (Gillin, 1945, p. 5; Gillin, 1946, ms.; Parsons, 1936, p. 49; Parsons, 1945, pp. 177-178; Redfield, 1930, p. 46; Redfield, 1941, p. 45; author's observations: Guatemala—San Luis Jilotepeque, Jalapa).

F. *Household Utensils*. The typical household contains a strange mixture of utensils. There is a grinding stone (metate) and a large number of pottery cooking and storage vessels. Hand carved utensils are common. However, there is hardly a household that does not have one or more machine manufactured articles in constant use. Some of the more common are: factory glazed chinaware; steel eating utensils; metal pots and pans; and steel knives and needles. (Gillin, 1945; Parsons, 1945, p. 178; Redfield, 1930, p. 39; author's observations: Mexico—Alamos, Sonora; Guatemala—San Luis Jilotepeque, Jalapa).

II. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

A. *Compadre System*. The existence of ceremonial kinship is common to most all groups. In some areas it is more highly developed than in others. Often it involves a very complicated web of artificial relationships that extends to almost every family of the community. A system of sponsorship of a person or object by one or more persons forms the basis of the compadre ceremony. This sponsorship is the mechanism by which the relationship is set up. The compadre system provides a great deal of security for its members. (Gillin, 1945, p. 5; Gillin, 1947, (Moche); Parsons, 1936, pp. 68-70; Parsons, 1945, pp. 178, 44-45; Redfield, 1930, p. 141; Redfield, 1941, pp. 92, 222-226; author's observations: Guatemala—San Luis Jilotepeque, Jalapa).

B. *Stable Family Group*. The Ladino regards his family as primary to all other activity and social action. Family unity is strong and the family concept extends far beyond the immediate unity of man and wife and offspring. When the Ladino thinks of his family he includes distant relatives that many North Americans do not even know. A big family with many children is considered a prestige symbol in Ladino culture. (Biesanz, 1944, p. 73; Gillin, 1947, (Moche); Parsons, 1945, p. 38; Redfield, 1941, pp. 190-192; author's observations: Mexico—Alamos, Sonora; Guatemala—San Luis Jilotepeque, Jalapa).

C. *Social Distinctions*. Prestige factors hold a major place in life. Almost everyone is conscious of his status and does everything possible to keep others from underestimating it. Clothing is a commonly used method of marking and maintaining social status. Marriage is usually kept within the bounds of the individual's social group. (Biesanz, 1944, pp. 19-24; Gillin, 1945, p. 10; author's observations: Mexico—Culiacan, Sinaloa; Guatemala—San Luis Jilotepeque, Jalapa).

D. *Double Standard*. The possession of numerous prerogatives by the male Ladino is a common feature of this culture. Pre-marital chastity is considered essential for the woman; however it is hardly seriously considered for the man. The work that is proper for women is clearly defined and any infraction of this work status is severely criticized. The woman's place is in the maintenance of a large, happy, and well-fed home. (Biesanz, 1944, pp. 64, 82, 72, 94; Parsons, 1936, p. 115; author's observations: Mexico—Alamos,

Sonora; Guatemala—San Luis Jilotepeque, Jalapa).

III. RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

A. *Cult of the Saints.* Each community has its own group of images representing various saints. Each saint has special powers that cover some particular field of needs. The individual goes for aid to a particular saint and through him contacts the Supreme Power. The saints are kept in the church but on occasion they are taken out for special pilgrimages. The Virgin Mary occupies a most important part in religious life and each country or region has its particular Patrona. (Biesanz, 1944, p. 205; Gillin, 1946, ms.; Parsons, 1936, pp. 27-28, 204-207; Parsons, 1945, pp. 81-84, 180; Redfield, 1930, p. 194; Redfield, 1941, pp. 140, 267; author's observations: Guatemala—San Luis Jilotepeque, Jalapa).

B. *Religious Festivals.* The religious calendar contains an almost endless array of festivals dedicated to the various saints of the community. The festival for the patron saint of the town is the most important and the celebration often lasts a week. Often individuals celebrate the day dedicated to the saint on whose day they were born. (Biesanz, 1944, pp. 183-185; Gillin, 1946, ms.; Parsons, 1936, chap. VI; Parsons, 1945, chap. VI; Redfield, 1930, chap. VI; Redfield, 1941, pp. 100, 270-273; author's observations: Guatemala—San Pedro Pinula, Jalapa).

C. *Women Predominate in Religious Activities.* Among men a generally skeptical attitude towards religion is maintained. For the most part they participate in religious activities only during life crises and on special feast days. Practically all of the lay assistance used in the maintenance of the church buildings and altars come from women. Their participation in the church rites and special observances is quite regular. (Biesanz, 1944, pp. 208-209; Gillin, 1945, p. 5; Gillin, 1946, ms.; Redfield, 1941, p. 257; author's observations: Guatemala—San Luis Jilotepeque, Jalapa).

D. *Mourning for the Dead.* As an important part of their religious life this culture has a well developed pattern for mourning the dead. Not only must one wear black but also one must observe various prohibitions to social activity during the mourning period. The length of the mourning period is determined by the individual's relation to the deceased. Wakes are common. (Biesanz, 1944, pp. 104-107; Parsons, 1936, p. 141;

Redfield, 1930; p. 142; Redfield, 1941, p. 154; author's observations: Guatemala—San Luis Jilotepeque, Jalapa).

E. *Charms and Religious Medals.* There is a wide usage of various types of religious medals to be worn or carried on the person. Often these have been blessed by the priest at a particular shrine noted for some special type of healing or protection. Often little silver replicas of an afflicted part are left in the church to help gain assistance from some particular saint. (Biesanz, 1944, p. 206; Parsons, 1936, p. 118; author's observations: Mexico—Culiacan, Sinaloa; Guatemala—San Luis Jilotepeque, Jalapa).

F. *Cofradia System.* This consists of a series of semi-religious groups of laymen who are charged with the maintenance of the image cult, for directing a fiesta, for conducting a pilgrimage, or for any other specific ceremonial functions. The intensity of interest in the cofradias varies from region to region, but these organizations are everywhere significant parts of the culture. The cofradias are of two main types: permanent, charged with a particular image cult; and temporary, organized for management of a particular ceremony. (Gillin, 1946, ms.; Parsons, 1936, pp. 192-200; Parsons, 1945, p. 178; Redfield, 1930, p. 65; Redfield, 1941, pp. 276-277; author's observations: Guatemala—San Luis Jilotepeque, Jalapa).

IV. WIDESPREAD BELIEFS

A. *Medical Beliefs.* The rural Latin American carries with him a wide variety of medical fancy concerning both the cure and the cause of disease. Numerous types of magical curing are practiced. The herbalist and midwife are resorted to for medical diagnosis and therapy. The particular causes for disease vary from region to region but they generally fall into similar patterns of superstition. (Gillin, 1946, ms.; Gillin, 1947 (Moche); Parsons, 1936, pp. 118-131; Parsons, 1945, pp. 62-63; Redfield, 1930, pp. 152, 158; Redfield, 1941, pp. 308-309; author's observations: Guatemala—San Luis Jilotepeque, Jalapa).

B. *Belief in Bewitchment.* Fear of numerous types of bewitchments is quite common to the Ladino. They go under different names in particular localities but they all belong to the same pattern. One of the most common is the fear of "bad air" that goes through a person and leaves him weakened and often near death. The type of

enchantment known as *espanto*, or fear, is widespread and is said to leave the victim senseless or completely helpless. (Gillin, 1946, ms.; Gillin, 1947 (Moche), chap. XIII; Parsons, 1936, pp. 118-140; Parsons, 1945, pp. 64, 178; Redfield, 1930, pp. 162-163; Redfield, 1941, p. 305; author's observations: Guatemala—San Luis Jilotepeque, Jalapa).

C. *Belief in Demons and Spirits*. The belief in the existence of a large variety of dangerous demons and spirits is not perhaps as common as it was some time ago. However, it still exists as a part at least of the sub-liminal life of the rural Ladino. (Parsons, 1936, pp. 207-210; Parsons, 1945, p. 178; Redfield, 1941, p. 93; author's observations: Guatemala—San Luis Jilotepeque, Jalapa).

It is hoped that the above listing has at least created questions in the mind of the reader. Moreover, we hope that these questions will stimulate work by students of Latin American culture directed at a unified understanding and approach to the problem.

Several suggestions for field work that must yet be done in clarifying this problem may be made here:

1. We must come to an understanding of how the indigenous culture has affected the Latin American culture. How many of these new elements have come from the pre-conquest cultures and what has been the extent of their influence upon this new synthesized culture? This will be a task for the specialist in Latin American native culture and pre-conquest ethnology.

2. A thorough analysis of the fifteenth century Spanish culture must be made. The romance historian needs to tell us just what elements were prevalent in fifteenth century Spain and also in the Colonial Period. Only by having this other side of the original elements of the Latin American culture subjected to intensive study can we hope to obtain a balanced picture.

3. An ever wider application of modern techniques for acculturation studies must be employed. For too long the ethnologist has concentrated his efforts on the aboriginal cultures of this area. Now we have a problem that offers rich rewards to the student of cultural dynamics and process.

4. In this paper we have barely touched upon the vital field of psychological and ideational patterns of Latin American culture. Here is a most subtle and difficult task and yet it is one of

the greatest interest and importance. We must go into the Latin American field with the latest and the best in psychological methodology and theory and attempt to come to a real understanding of the psychology of our neighbors.

For too long the question of the Latin American culture has been neglected. We have suggested that this typical Latin American culture cannot be identified with any other contemporary culture and that therefore it is a cultural entity and must be isolated, identified, and characterized. Anyone undertaking this problem is sure to find a field filled with material of the greatest interest and stimulation. Finally, we are sure that as this study is pushed further many elements of acculturation process, culture development, and the psychology of culture will come into new understanding.

Trips made by the author to Mexico and Central America: June 20–September 10, 1941, Central Mexico and North East Mexico; August 20–September 15, 1942, Northwest Mexico; August 25–September 20, 1943, Pacific Coast of Mexico; August 25–October 30, 1944, Pacific Coast and Central Mexico. June 20–August 1, 1946, San Luis Jilotepeque, as field assistant to Dr. John Gillin. August 1–August 26, 1946, Tour of Guatemala; trips to Honduras and El Salvador.

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A FOOTNOTE TO THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF AMERICAN CULTURE

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I

DEVELOPMENTS in anthropological theory and practice in recent years make it possible to apply the methods used in studying primitive societies to an analysis of modern American culture. The American way of life, so much a part of the polemics of wartime and of peace, has remained, curiously enough, beyond the direct scrutiny of most social scientists, and the ironical fact is that more is actually understood about the culture of the Trobriand Islanders, for example, than of American. For the most part social scientists have taken American culture for granted, or used it as a norm, without venturing upon analysis of more than some of its parts.

That the domain of American culture can be probed as soberly as that of a primitive group is indicated by the work of such anthropologists as Benedict,¹ Mead,² Linton,³ and others.⁴ Benedict's efforts have been directed toward delineating patterns of culture in a total configuration or *gestalt*, while Linton and Kardiner, and their followers, have sought at the other extreme to uncover the basic personality structure of selected primitive societies. During the war period analysis of cultures was extended to modern peoples of Europe and Asia: Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*⁵ is an illustrative study of Japanese culture.

¹ Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (Boston, 1934).

² Margaret Mead, *And Keep Your Powder Dry: An anthropologist looks at America* (New York, 1943).

³ Abram Kardiner and Ralph Linton, *The Individual and His Society: the psychodynamics of primitive social organization* (New York, 1939); and Abram Kardiner, with the collaboration of Ralph Linton, Cora DuBois, and James West, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (New York, 1945).

⁴ As examples, Ernest Beaglehole, "Character Structure. Its role in the analysis of interpersonal relations," *Psychiatry*, 7 (May, 1944), pp. 145-162; Geoffrey Gorer, "Themes in Japanese Culture," *Proceedings of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Series II, No. 5 (March, 1943), pp. 106-124; and Dinko Tomasic, "Personality Development of the Dinaric Warriors," *Psychiatry*, 8 (November, 1945), pp. 449-493.

⁵ (Boston, 1946).

In the field of philosophy, Northrop⁶ has attempted to demonstrate the philosophy of cultures; his materials on Mexican and British cultures, in particular, illustrate the contribution available in an ideological approach. Lynd⁷ and Panunzio⁸

⁶ F. S. C. Northrop, *The Meeting of East and West. An inquiry concerning world understanding* (New York 1946).

⁷ Robert S. Lynd, *Knowledge for What? The place of social science in American culture* (Princeton, 1939); and Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown in Transition. A study in cultural conflicts* (New York, 1937). Clark Wissler's introduction to *Middletown* characterized it as one of the first anthropological approaches to the study of the community.

⁸ Constantine Panunzio, *Major Social Institutions* (New York, 1939). Approaches to the study of American culture other than those suggested here should be indicated; all of them make a manifest contribution. The fruitfulness of the study of the "main tendencies of American thought as expressed in our literature" is illustrated by the work of Vernon Louis Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought. An interpretation of American literature from the beginnings to 1920* (New York, 1927 and 1930). The work of the historian is exemplified in the classic writings of Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), and *The Significance of Sections in American History* (New York, 1932). Franz Alexander, in his *The Age of Unreason* (Philadelphia, 1942), appraises Turner's contributions highly as an explanation of certain traits of American behavior which reflect the impact of technology on frontier culture. Howard W. Odum and Harry Estill Moore have demonstrated the utility of regionalism as a means both to study and to integrate American culture, *American Regionalism* (New York, 1938). Roland B. Dixon, in his *The Building of Cultures* (New York, 1928), pp. 287-298, has outlined a development of American culture in terms of a basic British culture, to which have been added increments of other cultures, and which has undergone modification and growth in the American environment. Analysis of American culture as a part of Western European culture is made by Oscar Waldemar Junek, "What Is The Total Pattern of Our Western Civilization? Some preliminary observations," *American Anthropologist*,

have made preliminary studies of the American scene. Whatever may be the particular virtues of the several approaches, it is apparent that together they provide a battery of techniques by which to study American culture, and they are oriented toward a conscious and deliberate effort to see the entirety or the whole of a culture, and to understand a people in the setting of their culture.

Why the American culture, as an entity, should have remained outside the study of social scientists until the present lies in the immensity of the problem of analysis, on the one hand, and the inadequacy of research techniques and of funds, on the other. The United States is a geographically vast area, with a huge population composed of diverse ethnic groups and characterized by subcultures. Its very heterogeneity has seemed to deny the promise of a basic culture, and to paralyze efforts to depict its underlying patterns. It is unnecessary to minimize the immensity of the problem, yet so early as 1888 Viscount Bryce,⁹ keen observer of American life, was able to write: "I mean that the native-born Americans appear to vary less, in fundamentals, from what may be called the dominant American type than Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen, Spaniards, or Italians do from any type which could be taken as the dominant type in any of those nations." That there is a basic patterning will appear upon investigation, and assuredly the importance of understanding American culture should encourage efforts to delineate its main contours, in however a preliminary fashion is necessary at this time.

What will be distressingly apparent to the student of American culture is that the content of the social sciences, actually ponderable in scope and quantity, has been assembled with relatively little if any interest in a cultural orientation. The culture has been accepted without examination as a logical frame of reference, or been overlooked quite matter-of-factly. Each of the sciences has its own problems, and its techniques and theory to seek solutions for those problems, and the amount of its findings which has been fitted into a comprehensive scientific total is often small and disconcerting.

n.s., Vol. 48 (July-September, 1946), pp. 397-406. A similar orientation is taken by Pitirim A. Sorokin in "Socio-Cultural Trends in Euro-American Culture During the Last Hundred Years," *A Century of Social Thought* (Durham, N. C., 1939), pp. 98-125.

⁹ James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (New York, 1908 (1888)) II, 776.

In their respective ways, sociology, economics, psychology, history, and political science are obviously dealing with the materials of American culture, but a cultural synthesis of their data has yet to be achieved. The student can examine tome after tome in the social sciences, many of them extremely useful in their own fields, and find the residue of his learning quite unimportant for a study of American culture.

The materials for the study of American life remain, for the most part, still to be gathered. They will be the result of cooperative research efforts carried on over a long period of time. Presumably many of these studies will require large scale, well-financed efforts, inasmuch as simple interview procedures used by anthropologists studying ruder peoples are hard to use in complex American society. In all likelihood cultural history will have to proceed in the same way as has American social history, which, as written by Ralph Gabriel,¹⁰ Merle Curti,¹¹ and others, has been rested upon the shoulders of innumerable monographs, which have investigated every man and every activity of importance to the national history. In the same way eventual comprehension of American culture must be based on the field efforts of many investigators.

From these cooperative efforts it can be hoped that there will come more accurate data on the American folkways and mores. It is apparent even to the casual observer that the mores are in many instances behind the actual practices of the people; wartime stresses have dramatized this fact in many phases of American life. In all likelihood some of what is taught as American faiths and ideals are no longer ideals, or are believed in diffidently, or have application limited to segments of American life. Myrdal¹² stressed the American dilemma in the conflict between the Lockean concepts of equality which are expressed in the preamble to the Constitution and the wholesale denial of civil liberties to Negroes, but what is also a fact is that racial prejudice is carried in the mores and is an element of American culture. "Jim Crowism" was a regular export of the American armies

¹⁰ *The Course of American Democratic Thought* (New York, 1940).

¹¹ *The Growth of American Thought* (New York, 1943).

¹² Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York, 1944), I, chap. 1.

both to Europe and to Asia. Lynd¹³ has pointed out numerous comparable inconsistencies in the culture and has suggested that a continuous imbalance exists in the culture because of the constant and over-riding changes occurring in the economic institution. It is probable that a large part of what is currently taught in the social sciences repeats the contradictions in American culture because of an emphasis on the ideal behavior of the society, to the neglect of the practices as they actually are carried out. Numerous specific field studies are urgently needed to provide the facts on American culture.

This paper is based, for the most part, on an examination of the materials in the various social sciences which have relevance for an interpretation of American culture. Some of the conclusions may appear conjectural and impressionistic. Nonetheless, the patent usefulness of understanding American culture, and the utility of that knowledge for the further development of the social sciences, make even tentative proposals of patterns of American culture a valid and desirable undertaking.

II

It is necessary in this study of American life to begin with an analysis of its main institutions, which provide the structure or physical framework of the culture. The institutional patterning determines the setting and the traits of the national life. In addition, there have been determinative factors and particular conditions of American history which have conditioned the culture in certain important ways, and given it a particular ethos or flavor. With these facts in hand, it is then possible to delineate the ideational patterning of the culture.

The significant characteristics of the institutions of American culture can be limned in the following manner:

Economic: finance capitalism, with a movement toward state capitalism; a machine economy closely related to scientific technology, which has resulted in worldwide exploitation of markets and materials and produced a tremendous quantity of durable and consumers' goods; corporate structure of business; a variety of finance and credit agencies; electric, coal, oil, and other fuels and energies, with atomic energy imminent; a laboring

force dependent upon the vicissitudes of the economy and increasingly organized into trade unions for purposes of collective bargaining with management.

Government: republican form of government resting upon the consent of the governed and implying political equality of all citizens and universal suffrage; powers of executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government delimited by checks and balances and defined in the constitution; judicial review of legislation; powers of government divided between federal, state, and local authorities, with the trend toward federal centralization; trend from regulatory state to the welfare state; a two-political party system, with minority opinions generally expressed through pressure groups; political machines dominant on the state and local level.

Religion: predominantly Protestant Christianity, with Roman Catholicism, Judaism, and other religions as minority denominations; state-church separation, with official religious toleration; considerable denominationalism and division among Protestants; reduced importance of ritual, dogma, and sermons; emphasis on individual salvation through faith and works; reading of the Bible; lay activity; social gospel and other forms of activism.

Family: monogamous marriage; conjugal family with limited kin reckoning; considerable divorce and remarriage; family reduced in size and functions; increased individuation of family members, with approaching husband-wife equality and particular emphasis on children; marriage as a sacrament, but with considerable secularism.

Education: free, tax-supported, compulsory, non-sectarian schools; mass education; a single-track rather than a dual school system, in which all pupils receive similar training; local administration of schools; a large variety of public and private schools, with varied curricula, attempting to meet the problems of a complex civilization.

Social Welfare: an institution of relatively late development; private charities and case work organizations; programs of public assistance, retirement schemes, and social insurances; medical care and hospital organizations; state institutional care for categorical relief.

Recreation: an emerging institution; recreation under private non-profit, public, and commercial auspices; both participant and spectator sports, many of them attached to high schools and col-

¹³ *Knowledge for What?* pp. 60-62; and *Middletown in Transition*, pp. 403-418.

leges; many commercial enterprises, being guided by profit, which border on the unmoral or anti-social; the automobile, radio, movies, and similar inventions having had a profound transforming influence on American life.

In addition to these institutions, the following factors are important in understanding American culture:

Science and knowledge: The United States, as one of the great Western nations, has a tremendous body of science and knowledge, extending into every phase of life, theoretical and practical. The scientific method of impersonal, objective study, with the use of laboratories, equipment, and technical procedures, has been used to widen constantly the scope of man's knowledge, and to release him from the bondage of ignorance and superstition. Social sciences have taken their place beside the physical sciences to investigate the personal and social lives of people. Learning in the fields of art, painting, music, literature, and the humanities is considerable and authoritative. American culture is accordingly extremely complex, and education of the individual is a never-ceasing and never-completed process, since at the most the individual can learn only the smallest fragment of the available culture.

Urbanism: The majority of Americans live in cities; and the trend of settlement appears to be toward metropolitan city regions. All people, whether or not they live in cities, are affected by urbanism. An urban culture denotes the massing of people into geographically-limited spaces, with large densities of population, numerous physical contacts but most of them impersonal and anonymous. The individual is obscured in the large mass and driven into organized groups. In the United States, because of the rural character of the culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, many of the mores are of country origin and adaptation, and have not been satisfactorily refashioned for twentieth century urban living.

Mass of people: a population of 140 millions, derived from diverse ethnic origins the world over, with more than 34 millions of foreign stock or 25 percent of the entire population, and 13 millions of Negroes or nearly 10 percent of the population, at present inhabits the United States. This is a quantity and variety of people whose presence is closely related to the industrialism and urbanism of the culture, and is contributory to the complexity of modern American life. The impact of

this mass of people upon every institution of the culture and upon regional and sub-cultural variations of the main pattern is tremendous.

Short history: The comparatively short history of the United States, as compared to the European nations, has meant that relatively few feudal and other early influences operate in the culture, in the manner that Northrop¹⁴ has demonstrated their significance for Mexican culture, for example. Not only the brevity of the national history, but its particular circumstances: continental isolation, vast natural resources, variegated climate and soil, favorable man-land ratio, freedom from foreign attack, and continuous expansion and development, have given to the American culture a strongly optimistic, highly ethnocentric tone.

Rapid means of transit and transportation: travel on the land, in the air, and on the sea by high-powered means of locomotion has provided the economic basis of industrial and urban life, vastly increased the ease of mobility, and inter-related the parts of the world. Americans are a highly-mobile people, and they have the means to be mobile. The local community has lost much of its earlier significance in American life because of increased internal migration.

Improved means of communication: information and learning are imparted by the press, periodicals, books, radio, movies, and other agencies in such a comprehensive manner that the average citizen knows more about the world in which he lives than did the educated person of past centuries. These means of communication both impress a common pattern of culture, and increase its variety.

III

The question now arises: what are the ideational patterns or the national values held in common which exist behind the facade of the institutional structures? They are extraordinarily elusive and difficult to assess. In part the cultural values are a consequence of the institutions; in the other part they have served to shape and mould the institutions. Further, as will be seen, they are implicitly believed in and given adherence to, whereas in reality they may long have been outmoded and at least partially abandoned. It is possible for a culture to harbor disparate values in its various institutions and thus to nurture inconsistent values, in quite the same manner that individuals hold, in psychological terms, con-

¹⁴ *The Meeting of East and West*, chap. II.

tradictory attitudes in departmentalized minds. Sumner has pointed out a strain for consistency in the mores,¹⁵ but in a rapidly changing culture integration may be long in arriving and, indeed, never come.

The following patterns appear to be important strands in American culture:

1. *The economic conditioning of the culture*

What impresses the student as he studies American culture is the primary and dominant position of the economic institution and the ceaseless and pervasive conditioning of the culture by the capitalist economy.¹⁶

The basic topography of American life is determined by the demands and characteristics of the industrial system. Business and industry, between them, primarily determine the physical layout of American cities and villages and the dispersion of population. Industry is largely mechanized, and the factory and the machine are the agents of production, controlled and guided by those legal and impersonal devices, the corporation. Individuals are wage earners, who exchange services or skills for financial recompense and who ordinarily have no other means of livelihood. Generally the worker performs one small task in an intricate, complex process of production, which involves the coordinated services of a large number of persons of diversified skills and abilities. Today finance capitalism has replaced the more informal, often face-to-face relationships between employer and employee, that existed in early forms of capitalism, with increasingly formal, impersonal corporation-employee relationships, with the result that workers, left stranded and often bewil-

dered in the complex industrial organization, have turned to labor organization for the purposes of collective bargaining.

As important as the physical structure of the industry, however, are the cultural values of capitalism, in which the individual is inevitably socialized. The assumptions of capitalism are specific and urgent. Stated in stereotyped phrases, they are: "private property, individual initiative, free competition, and private profit." These canons suppose an economic man, who is rational, acquisitive and egocentric in his motivations, and who in seeking his own economic goals creates or acquires wealth in such a way that others have their economic satisfactions gratified also. In the open market, in which buyers and sellers are desirably of approximately equal strength, an impersonal law of supply and demand determines the price of goods, and serves as a barometer of business effort. High prices stimulate activity among producers; the competition for profits among them brings about greater effort and more efficient means of production; and a larger supply of goods at reduced prices offered for sale in the open market benefits all people. Competition is the central value of capitalism.

The individual born into American capitalist society is early nurtured in the faiths of the economy. Psychologically he becomes the acquisitive individual, to use Tawney's¹⁷ phrase: he is driven primarily by economic motives; he must succeed in the industrial and business world; happiness and honor in life become synonymous with business success. Ours is, as Adams¹⁸ has said, a business civilization, and business values are dominant. The business man secures the prestige and status in American society that in other cultures is variously vouchsafed the heads of government, or of the church, or of the military, or even scholars.

Because of the particular history of the United States, in terms of its continental riches and rapid, hectic development, and perhaps because of forces inherent in capitalism, growth and progress have become highly valued in the culture and indeed tacitly accepted as being in the nature of things. This has meant, for the most part, development predominantly in the economic institution. This progress has been very real:

¹⁷ *The Acquisitive Society* (New York, 1920).

¹⁸ James Truslow Adams, *Our Business Civilization: Some aspects of American culture* (New York, 1929).

¹⁵ William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1934 (1906)), pp. 5-6.

¹⁶ A. A. Berle and Gardiner Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property* (New York, 1932); Joseph Dorfman, *The Economic Mind in American Civilization, 1606-1865* (New York, 1946), 2 vols; Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrial Relations and the Social Order* (New York, 1946); R. H. Tawney, *The Acquisitive Society*, (New York, 1920); Caroline F. Ware and Gardiner C. Means, *The Modern Economy in Action* (New York, 1936); R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (London, 1926); Jerome Davis, *Capitalism and Its Culture* (New York, 1935); Louis M. Hacker, *The Triumph of American Capitalism* (New York, 1940); and Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. by Talcott Parsons (London, 1930).

Hacker¹⁹ makes a case for the fact that capitalism has actually achieved a large part of the success it so centrally desires. One result is that Americans are aggressive, shrewd, alert, machine-minded, self-reliant in the handling of their industrial affairs. They are producer-minded; they esteem technical skills and efficiency; they know that this year's model is better than last year's, and next year's will be better than this.

American culture is as a consequence materialistic. It is only reasonable that the values in economic life which are so highly regarded and sought after should similarly be dominant in the other parts of the culture. The circumstances of American history, also, have emphasized the material side of the culture. With the need to open and exploit a continent, obviously the premiums were highest on aggressive, pioneering, self-reliant qualities, in women as well as men; they "paid off," to use a good American phrase. Utilitarian and material values came to be the better values, with a corresponding disdain for the things of the spirit or of the emotions, as being more seemly for the effeminate and the weak.

The individual born into this business-minded culture becomes socialized in its values, and takes his place in society largely though not solely in terms of his employment. The job determines not only the conditions of daily labor, but friends, personal and family life, interests and hobbies, and to an important extent social class position. One's whole life, indeed, is influenced by what Lynd²⁰ called "the long arm of the job."

2. Confused and contradictory conceptions of human nature

In American culture the following conceptions of human personality are espoused in at least one of the basic institutions:

a. The capitalist economy fashioned a theory of human nature necessary for its purposes.²¹ To the theory of the economic man, egocentric and selfish in his acquisitive drives, was coupled a

notion of personal morality, largely of Calvinist inspiration, which enjoined the individual to cultivate the virtues of diligence, thrift, sobriety, and prudence. These are qualities of self-denial and self-control; they require independent and reliable men and women: factories are not run by slaves. Such qualities as these are desirable, even though they may become corrupted in the market place; they were the basis of the tremendous expansion of capitalism, over the entire world following the eighteenth century. But the basic conception of capitalism is of human nature as fixed and inflexible, egocentric and selfish, dominated always by a passion for personal advantage.

b. From Christian sources²² there came a conception of human nature as evil and depraved, and given to things of the flesh. Man, the sinner, had fallen from divine grace. To this estimate of human personality the church further contributed a judgment of women as inferior to men and debased as objects of sex desire. In American history the clergy have generally adhered to this grim view of human nature, but nonetheless the culture has ameliorated the intensity with which these views have been held, and man's rationality and capacity for goodness have received expression by the clergy. It must be pointed out, however, that on the positive side Christianity, with its emphasis on the salvation of the soul, and its doctrine that each individual is a free, responsible moral agent, has contributed tremendously to an optimistic view of human nature.²³

c. In the field of philosophy Lockean influences have been paramount in expressing the basic equality of all human beings,²⁴ and this view was expressed by the Founding Fathers, for example, in the preamble to the Constitution. This concept of equality, and it is real and pervasive in American culture, has been expressed primarily in political terms: civil liberties and the right of suffrage are illustrative.

d. Rational and humanitarian impulses since the Period of Enlightenment in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have stressed the basic

¹⁹ *The Triumph of American Capitalism* (New York, 1940).

²⁰ Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown. A study in American culture* (New York, 1929), chap. VII.

²¹ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*; R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*; and H. M. Robertson, *Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism* (Cambridge, 1933).

²² Harry Elmer Barnes, *Social Institutions* (New York, 1945), p. 692.

²³ Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought*, p. 37.

²⁴ Northrop, *The Meeting of East and West*, pp. 83-98.

goodness and the reasonableness of all persons.²⁵ The cause of such social inequality as exists among people is assigned by these doctrines to differences in environmental factors. Equality of opportunity will help to bring eventual social equality.

e. In addition to these viewpoints on human nature, the circumstances of American history fostered a fundamentally optimistic conception of personality. America was a land of great resources and of minimum population, and hence a land of opportunity. Natives and immigrants alike could climb the social ladder, and achieve the full life. The conditions of American culture, therefore, encouraged the view that environmental rather than biological factors determined one's station in life, and that the American setting was highly favorable to permitting individual talent to be expressed wherever it existed.

From these sources, then, have come the contradictory beliefs in human nature that exist in American culture. Fundamentally the culture upholds an optimistic appraisal of the worth of the human being and of his potentialities for development. This attitude is expressed continuously in American life; it receives its fullest expression, surely, in the faiths which underlie the public school system. But this notion of pliable and malleable personality is held against the conviction of fixed human nature in the economic institution, and a debased one in the religious. The immutability of human nature is held firmly by people who also subscribe to a confidence in its possibilities for improvement. A cliché that is heard frequently and which is intended to forestall social reform is that the good life is not to be reached until depraved human nature is changed, and this cannot be.

3. Open-class society and social mobility

A notion fondly held in American society, deriving from Lockean sources and from the leveling influences of democracy, has been its condition of classlessness. So shrewd an observer as De Tocqueville²⁶ was particularly impressed with the apparent social equality that existed in the population. That there has been a considerable degree of open-handed and sincere fraternity and that

there is often a friendliness and good nature about Americans is not to be denied. But recent studies, particularly the Warner materials,²⁷ have detailed what long has become obvious: that American society has its social classes, which are characterized by their respective behavioral patterns and which increasingly thwart mobility, or movement, from one class level to the next.

The relative ease of social mobility has been a fundamental tenet of American democracy. From a cultural viewpoint, its significance can not be over-estimated. This is because the members of American society have been fixed by birth to no rigid and inalienable class position, and, having the right to seek improvement in their status, have had incumbent upon them as well the implicit necessity to advance themselves. The capitalist economy and the Calvinist sanctification of economic acquisitiveness provided the appropriate social order and the goad for individual striving. With the opportunity to improve one's station in life came the duty to attempt to do so. Persons thrown into the water must swim or sink; and persons placed into an open-class society must win themselves a bulwark, or gravitate to the lowest social order.

The possibility of social mobility has been of immense significance in American life. It provided the human sinews for the exploitation of the continent and it unleashed human energy and talent at every level of society, to share in the task of constructing American civilization. Industry and the public schools, to name only two institutions, have been particular channels through which persons received the training and the opportunity to rise in American life.

But there is a negative side to social mobility. Persons without assigned and fixed positions in societies must mobilize their resources to defend the rank which they have, or to secure a better one. Often the drive for mobility becomes a scramble, or a relentless conflict, with those below thrusting up and those above remorselessly pushing down. There is cruelty, and heartache, and suffering in the struggle for mobility. This has always been

²⁵ Curti, *The Growth of American Thought*, pp. 103-104, 121-122.

²⁶ Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, edited by Henry Reeve (London, 1875 (1840)) I, 43-44.

²⁷ W. Lloyd Warner, and others, *The Yankee City Series* (New Haven, 1941, 1942, and 1945), first three volumes. See especially John Dollard's *Castle and Class in a Southern Town* (New Haven, 1937) and Hortense Powdermaker's *After Freedom* (New York, 1939).

true of American class movement; envy and strife have seemed inevitable attendants upon mobility.

Thus it is that social mobility and class position are among the sorest points in American culture. The cultural incentives to advancement are at times so strong that they seem compulsive in nature, and for many an American improvement in his social position is tantamount to self-respect. But the means to satisfy the expectations developed by the culture have never been adequate. Inevitably there has been frustration and disillusion. Even those who have seemed to succeed never completely lose a sense of insecurity and fear: there is no position in society so high that it can not be bettered, nor any so lofty that it need not be defended. Today's leaders are discarded tomorrow. In the very ferment of class mobility, therefore, lies some of the insecurity that many persons feel, and some of the clues to the ungenerous parts of American character.

Two illustrations can be cited to show the effect of this insecurity. American upper classes have seemed lacking in a sense of responsibility and duty when compared with their British brethren. One reason for this apparently lies in the fact that the American upper class devotes its main energy to securing and maintaining its superior position, and to enjoying the privileges thereof, without often advancing to a sense that duties are related to privilege.

Also, it has appeared to many observers that there is an inordinate demand for social conformity in American life, and that the energy and inventiveness so highly prized is funneled off primarily in the economic institution. If this is a correct observation and it appears so, one reason for it may lie in the haunting sense of insecurity that has developed because of incessant change in the culture caused by science and industrial technology, and the need of people to hold desperately to familiar things. What seems undeniably true is that change is feared and resented increasingly in the institutions of the family, religion, and government. To persons whose class position is precarious and vulnerable and who have the need to maintain that status, the piling up of the hazards of life through social change seems to threaten an eventual breaking-point.

4. *Stress on individualism, or personality fulfilment*

Related closely to a favorable estimate of hu-

man nature and a support of social mobility is another assumption of American culture: an expectation and even a need by every individual to secure some kind of expression of his individuality, or affirmation of his being. This is much more than class mobility; it implies a sense of seeking, a quest for happiness, a need to live out one's purposes in life, an impulse for self-expression. To this urge is given the name individuality, but the term denotes a wide gamut in the desire for fulfilment of the personality, ranging from a selfish egocentrism to a socialized development of talent.

None is immune from the feeling and need for individuality in American culture. Whether it be the movie-struck girl set upon becoming an actress in her own right, or the boy puttering with machines on his father's farm, or the veteran establishing his own retail store, or the poet determined to live in his own way in the anonymity of the metropolitan city—all these are ambitious not only for worldly goods and preferment but for something much more intangible and vague: a clutching for the fuller and better life.

James G. Leyburn has remarked how novel and even revolutionary is this concept of individualism in modern, and particularly American, society. In feudal Europe, for example, the social position of all persons was fixed in the law, and the peasant lived in much the same way as had his parents, and he wanted to cleave to old ways. Limited numbers of the ruling classes might, in European societies and in others, seek expression of their particular natures, but for most persons the individual was a member of his family, or his community, and was not recognized primarily for a unique set of talents. In the closed-class societies of Europe even today individual expression is class-limited. Benedict²⁸ has pointed out how culturally alien is the individualist in primitive society.

On the positive side, this impulse for individuality is the essence of democracy. It is the faith of the culture that all persons, regardless of social class, sex, age, color, or creed, should receive the fullest opportunity to develop themselves. What has hitherto been generally the prerogative of the ruling cliques should now become the property of all persons. There is a dignity and a

²⁸ *Patterns of Culture*, pp. 240-242 (Pelican Books, 1946).

grandeur to this proposition. Its intent is that every person shall participate in the culture as fully as possible.

But there are serious burdens placed upon individualism. These reiterate one stark fact: the awful responsibility placed upon the individual to fashion his own life, to make his own decisions, to pluck his own happiness, in a constantly shifting culture and in a precarious world. When the complexity of American culture is considered, with the corporate structure of business and its international ramifications, the growth of metropolitan cities, the volume of science and learning, and overpowering technological changes, the determination of each individual to live his own life seems arrogant if not ludicrous.

Individualism, as an affirmation of the culture, influences every aspect of American life. It helps to explain the bitterness and the poignancy of social class competition. It reinforces the motivations of the capitalist economy with its emphasis upon material success and its enthusiasm for growth and expansion. The cultural judgment of human nature as basically good, and of plastic stuff which can be shaped by a favorable environment, is made more explicit in terms of the expectations of individualism.

Something of what is happening to the American family can be understood in terms of individualism.²⁹ The family form is conjugal and with limited kin; thus control by an extended kin group or by elders has been eliminated. At the same time more is expected of the family today in terms of personality fulfilment and of companionship by the young people who enter into marriage than ever before. Failing to secure those purposes, they sue for divorce to enter into remarriages. The family has been steadily reduced in size so that, in part, the parents can secure satisfaction of their own desires and individuality without the burden of children. Those fewer children who come to the family, however, are highly prized and granted such a latitude in training and development that the American family has been

rightfully noted as child-centered. The American family is frail and easily broken, yet it is one of the principal institutions in which security and fulfilment are sought.

The reduction of family groups, on the one hand, and the urbanization of the society, on the other, have reduced the number of face-to-face relationships and solidarity of the community, making more precarious the position of the individual. As a result he has tended to join organizations—Americans are notorious as joiners—not always to seek sociality, as Leyburn has pointed out, but to obtain security in the group, and to use the group as a pressure device to secure the ends of individualism.

American Protestantism has been as clearly affected by individualism: in a cultural sense it is American.³⁰ It is optimistic, functional, activist, and easy to take; it emphasizes individual salvation through faith and works and looks upon religious conversion as a personal psychological experience. It has slack ties with the supernatural: American religion is not a ghostly science. Lay activity in the church and reading of the Bible, rather than the control of these activities by a professional ministry, are general. The denominationalism which has rent American Protestantism has resulted often in a competition, among churches and ministers, for a congregation which has much of the method and persuasion of business rivalry. What the church denotes as secularism, and which is nothing more than one of the cultural definitions of individualism, is an abiding spectre of organized religion.

The cultural shaping of the institution of government has been generally patent.³¹ Constitution-

²⁹ Ernest Sutherland Bates, *American Faith. Its religious, political and economic foundations* (New York, 1940); H. Paul Douglass and Edmund de S. Brunner, *The Protestant Church as a Social Institution* (New York, 1935); Sherwood Eddy, *The Kingdom of God and the American Dream* (New York, 1941); C. Luther Fry, with the assistance of Mary Frost Jessup, "Changes in Religious Organizations," in *Recent Social Trends* (New York, 1933), pp. 1009-1060; Kenneth Scott Latourette, *The Great Century, Europe and the United States of America* (New York, 1941); H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York, 1929); and Arthur L. Swift, Jr., *New Frontiers of Religion* (New York, 1938).

³¹ Thurman W. Arnold, *The Symbols of Government* (New Haven, 1935); Harold F. Gosnell, *Machine Politics: Chicago Model* (Chicago, 1937); Harold D.

²⁹ Ray E. Baber, *Marriage and the Family* (New York, 1939); Jessie Bernard, *American Family Behavior* (New York, 1942); M. C. Elmer, *The Sociology of the Family* (Boston, 1945); Joseph K. Folsom, *The Family and Democratic Society* (New York, 1943); and Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke, *The Family from Institution to Companionship* (New York, 1945).

alism, the division of the powers of government duly protected by a series of checks and balances, judicial restraint, and the rights of the individual against governmental encroachment of personal liberty testify to a distrust of government and to a desire to protect individualism. The American has no worship of stateism, little identification with the legal machinery, and no tradition of a trained civil service. His duly elected representatives to law-making bodies are really representative of him.³² He personalizes the government and tends to identify all types of difficulty, governmental or other, as due to personal causes. He has an implicit trust in making laws, but he is very much a law breaker, in part because he is resentful of restraint of his person. Generally he has looked with hostility toward an increase in the powers of the federal government, and yet, in moments of considerable social change and unrest, he looks hopefully for security to a "government of laws, not of men."

Obviously the present times which require a constant enlargement of federal authority and functions and a movement to the welfare state and its bureaucracy have resulted in considerable hostility, and at the same time in a change in the mores.

This shift in the culture is going on also in the institution of welfare, where the structure of relief premised on the principles of the Elizabethan poor laws has been superseded by a highly-centralized, complexly-organized agency for public assistance.³³ The changes in many forms of welfare have been cushioned, however, by an effort to adhere to the culturally-approved principles of insurance, and thus to permit ravaged individualism to maintain

Lasswell, *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How* (New York, 1936); Edward B. Logan, (ed.), *The American Political Scene* (New York, 1936); Charles E. Merriam, *Systematic Politics* (Chicago, 1945); Peter H. Odegard and E. Allen Helms, *American Politics. A study in political dynamics* (New York, 1938); M. Ostrogorski, *Democracy and the Party System in the United States* (New York, 1926 (1902, 2 vols)); J. T. Salter, *The Pattern of Politics. The folkways of a democratic people* (New York, 1940); and T. V. Smith, *The Promise of American Politics* (Chicago, 1936).

³² Salter, *The Pattern of Politics*, pp. 115-116.

³³ Edith Abbott, *Public Assistance*. Vol. 1. *American Principles and Policies* (Chicago, 1940); Josephine C. Brown, *Public Relief, 1929-1939* (New York, 1940); and Helen Leland Witmer, *Social Work. An analysis of a social institution* (New York, 1942).

its self-respect by contributing to the cost of its care.

Individualism is thus a pervasive force in the culture, quite in accord with its optimistic tone so long as the means to its achievement are kept reasonably open. The facts of American history have conspired to proffer to the millions of citizens the opportunity for mobility, for individual growth, and for self-expression. There is, as a result, a generally forward-looking orientation in the culture: the years ahead are expected to bring a better job, marriage, happiness, or greater wisdom, according to the cultural faith. Parents frustrated in their own lives can project their ambitions upon their children. The potentialities, as well as the liabilities, of individualism are in the culture, therefore, and their nourishment should be zealously safeguarded and fostered.

5. *A non-integrated culture in a condition of imbalance*

American culture is extraordinarily complex and is becoming increasingly so. It is in process of constant change, chiefly because of industrial technology and of science, whose innovations have been so overpowering as to reshape the culture continuously. These changes have been introduced primarily through the economic institutions and have caused accommodating shifts in the other institutions.³⁴ But these adjustments have been grudging and inept; social inventiveness, in reshaping the family, government, and religion, has been lacking as compared to the resourcefulness and ingenuity demonstrated in industry; and the tendency in these institutions has been to look with wistful nostalgia to the past rather than with hope to the future. The culture, in a word, is nonintegrated.³⁵

In the extremity of this disjuncture in the culture lies much of its difficulties. The incentives of the culture urge people to develop themselves; the means to achieve that fulfilment of their natures are less clear and sure. Americans want to be individuals and to live happily, but they do not know how. For the most part their aspirations are channeled into the economic sphere and to the

³⁴ William Graham Sumner and Albert Galloway Keller, *The Science of Society* (New Haven, 1927), I, 36-37.

³⁵ For an interesting study of this problem, see Robert Cooley Angell, *The Integration of American Society. A study of groups and institutions* (New York, 1941).

attainment of the material riches of the culture. They are pushed into the drive for social mobility, because the upper classes have a larger proportion of the good things of life. The individualism may be expressed in grasping, selfish egotism, particularly when the uncertainties of life have multiplied and seem ominous. But how to go beyond the daily struggle and to reach better, happier living: here the culture is less sure of itself, and here the inability of the culture to use rationality and science in the non-economic spheres of life places difficult barriers to the desired goal.

Hence it has seemed to many observers that not individualism but conformity is the characteristic of Americans. Individualism is expressed in so few parts of the culture—chiefly the economic—that uniformity in behavior has seemed to prevail elsewhere. This conventionality is apparently

enforced because of the hostility to changes in those institutions which appear to offer the last strongholds of security so desperately needed. Also, the standardizing influences of the cultural institutions are such as to lessen individual and social idiosyncrasies and to encourage leveling.

The culture posits individualism as a basic social value but places overwhelming burdens upon its realization. The culture is too overwhelmingly complex for persons to grasp even a portion of it. In addition, the individual has fewer resources beyond himself upon which to depend: kinship groups, community, and social groups have thinned out and lessened in influence. What is needed is not an integrated culture—a complete harmony of parts of the culture can never be achieved in a changing world—but rather the use of every device and agency to fashion the culture so that it gives what it promises—a better life to every individual on every level of society.

WUNDT AND THE FOLK: AN APPRAISAL OF WUNDT'S FOLK PSYCHOLOGY

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I

THOUGH Wilhelm Wundt has long been known in America as a psychologist and as a scholar in both the social and the natural sciences, the full range of his achievements and contributions has been only partially realized. Particularly noticeable has been the lack of recognition of his concept of the folk. The *Völkerpsychologie* and the subsequent books and articles which Wundt wrote to further advance and define it have been too easily classed with those aspects of his work which the progress of social science has outmoded. His work in other spheres, however, seems to have received its due. Though modern psychology has modified his doctrines of structuralism, creative synthesis, apperception, and voluntarism, it acknowledges the stimulus he furnished to behaviorism, psychoanalysis, Gestalt psychology, and the study of every manifestation of mental processes. His establishment of a physiological psychology and of the use of the experimental method in psychology remain his most

distinctive contributions.¹ But his definition of the folk and its culture, the labor to which he devoted the maturity of his intellect, has apparently been widely disregarded.

Because it is founded on a view of the folk which is of living value to social science, and especially to the foundation of a folk sociology, the *Völkerpsychologie* along with the ensuing volumes deserves more than the past treatment it has received.² Wundt's contribution in this field is not to be classified as significant only because of its historical position or to be turned aside because the psychological doctrines are not compatible with present research. The idea of the folk which

¹ Drawn chiefly from Joseph Jastrow in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, XII, 572, and from William F. Ogburn and Alexander Goldenweiser (eds.) in *The Social Sciences and their Interrelations* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927), p. 5.

² The *Völkerpsychologie* deals essentially with the psychological origins of language, mythology, custom, and religion. Its five volumes were issued between 1900 and 1909 and total over three thousand pages.

forms the central theme of *Völkerpsychologie* through *Elemente der Völkerpsychologie* enables the volumes to survive for direct utility. The folk concept is at the heart of the works of which G. Stanley Hall said, "It is where he enters this domain [folk psychology] that Wundt, to our thinking, has kept himself young and growing,"³ and which Alexander Goldenweiser calls a "stupendous contribution."⁴ E. B. Titchener, in paying to *Völkerpsychologie* a "tribute of admiration to its unflinching vitality, to its masterful ordering of detail, to its theoretical consistency,"⁵ lauds no less the fundamental thesis of folk which is its essence.

Wundt's examination and analysis of the mental processes of the human group stand independent of the broad view of the folk itself. Upon the basic concept he has built psychological premises, but when these technical labors are cut away, the essential foundation stands in clear relief. This paper concedes that the psychological elements are probably of highest value in a history of the science. It proposes to deal primarily with the folk, for Wundt's concept of this societal constant gives the *Völkerpsychologie* its most enduring traits. It will present Wundt's principles in their full vitality, stripped of the psychological material which does not offer such rich rewards for evaluation.

II

The folk is the elemental societal unit for study. According to Wundt, the minds within the folk create products which can only be possible in a community of minds, for their creations are social rather than individual. Language, myth, and religion, the terms which Wundt employs to cover the total folk creations, are merely broad references to its numerous and varied products. These phenomena cannot be properly understood when explained in terms of the psychology of the individual. To view clearly the mental processes which lie at their root, it is necessary to turn to the group which creates them, the folk. "In an account of the total development of mental life, however—and this is the decisive consideration

—the 'folk' is the most important collective concept and the one with which all others are associated."⁶ It is the lowest common denominator for societal investigation. Because it is a limited homogeneous group, its problems are more defined than those of a larger, more complex body. Since it is, moreover, the point at which the creations of the individual become the reciprocal action of many, it is the vital unit between society and the individual.

The folk possesses a mind or spirit (Volksseele) of its own. Fundamental to an understanding of Wundt's ideas is the acceptance of the reality of a group mind. For Wundt the existence of the group mind is as certain as the reality of the individual mind, and till his death in 1920 he consistently refuted all arguments to the contrary. The folk is a living, conscious being, aware of its own needs and acting so that those needs may be fulfilled. Stronger than the individual, it is dynamic, resilient, and eternal, deliberately arranging for its own survival. In all Wundt's work on folk psychology, this central concept is supported.

The folk are the creators of culture. "Auch ist das Volk jedenfalls der wichtigste der Lebenskreise, aus denen die Erzeugnisse gemeinsamen geistigen Lebens hervorgehen."⁷ From the interaction of its component individuals emerges the culture which characterizes the folk group. The aim of folk psychology is to analyze the varied cultural products. Some of the forms studied are language and communication, song, poetry, dancing, music, drama, and all manifestations of religion. The state, the governmental organization, the armed force, law, enforcement of law, the social institutions, welfare groups, in fact, virtually every social phenomenon has its roots in the folk and is therefore the object of interest for the folk psychologist. The culture alone serves to distinguish one folk from another. Each group has its own specific creations which contribute to individuality at any moment in the cultural continuum. "All phenomena," says Wundt, "with which mental

³ G. Stanley Hall, *Founders of Modern Psychology* (New York: D. Appleton and Co. 1912), p. 425.

⁴ Alexander Goldenweiser, in Ogburn and Goldenweiser, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

⁵ Edward B. Titchener in obituary sketch of Wundt, *Science*, LII, No. 1352 (November 25, 1920), p. 502.

⁶ Wilhelm Wundt, *Elements of Folk Psychology*, translated by Edward L. Schaub (London: Allen and Unwin, Ltd., New York: Macmillan, 1916), p. 4.

⁷ "The folk is in every instance the most important element of the environment from which the creations of communal mental life arise." Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie* (Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, printer, 1904), p. 2.

sciences deal are, indeed, creations of the social community. Language, for example, is not the accidental discovery of an individual; it is the product of peoples, and, generally speaking, there are as many different languages as there are originally distinct peoples. The same is true of the beginnings of art, of mythology, and of custom."⁸ Yet if its culture can appear as a single configuration, the folk depends necessarily upon the character of the persons who compose it. Their specific traits are the primary elements which conditioning can only mold.⁹

The folk are the bearers of culture. Diffusion of language, myth, and religion occurs because, as the established patterns are handed down through the generations, representatives are in contact with members of other folk groups. In the trend toward the uniformity of the folk into a single large body, each group adopts the traits of the other which it finds most satisfying, so that the true bearers of culture are the folk groups themselves. The representatives are merely offshoots from the ultimate source, the true carrier and creator. When they die or fail, it sends out replacements, and the process continues its ceaseless course. However, the force of ethnocentrism in each group tends to stabilize the traits and values which the folk bears. Change within the culture itself occurs slowly. New ideas are carefully tested before they are absorbed and integrated. As a carrier, therefore, the folk is cautious, offering more readily than it accepts, except, of course, when dealing with artifacts which are obviously advantageous.

The folk is a homogeneous group. As long as it retains its uniformity, it is not limited in size, according to Wundt. The folk is marked by a common culture, by common traditions, and by a system of communication, such as language, which is uniform for all members. In its early stages it consists of a single family, but as it ex-

pands, it comes to include clan, tribe, and community. During the process of growth, the homogeneity must be retained lest it become a mixed series or strata of varying folk groups, as exist in cities. Close personal sanctions are important controlling elements. To assure cultural uniformity as the folk group swells in size, the existence of mutual traditions, customs, and habits, as well as the perfection of communication and transportation must proceed continually. So long as bonds of communication are preserved and heterogeneity is suppressed, the folk can expand indefinitely, Wundt believes.

The folk begins with members of one ethnic group in a single limited environment. In growing it can transcend race, state, and environment, however, provided that the basic conditions of homogeneity are preserved through a common communication system. In a future "age of humanity" it is possible for the folk to cover the earth in a single culture, united by the human sympathy and cooperation which characterize its members. To Wundt it appears that the movement toward a world culture is in progress. It will continue as long as mutual difficulties of communication and of transportation are conquered and the humane natures of peoples can be freely expressed. This paper will presently examine the results of recent history in the light of his observations.

The folk is identified with Nature with respect to surroundings and resources. The natural environment sets the limits and the channels for folk creativeness. In doing so, it determines the character of the culture, as well as its rate of progress. As a corollary, Wundt assumes the psychic equality and psychic unity of the existing races of man. If the Vedda of Ceylon differ in culture from the residents of large European cities, it is because the environment demands different adjustments of them. "The intellectual endowment of primitive man is in itself approximately equal to that of civilized man. Primitive man merely exercises his ability in a more restricted field."¹⁰ The fortunes of the folk, therefore, are dependent upon the conditions of their surroundings, and the need for certain adjustments is conditioned by the supply of materials at hand. The relationship between the group, the culture, and the lands which the group occupies is a constricted one which finally determines the level of cultural development.

⁸ Wundt, *Elements of Folk Psychology*, p. 2.

⁹ Several of Wundt's disciples have carried further the investigation of folk creativeness. Xenja Bernstein examines at length the forms of art and literature which are produced by the folk in *Die Kunst nach Wilhelm Wundt* (Friedrich-Alexanders Universität Press, 1914), inaugural dissertation. Felix Emmel studies the implications of Wundt's work on folk religion in *Wundts Stellung zum Religiösen Problem* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, printer, 1911), inaugural dissertation.

¹⁰ Wundt, *Elements of Folk Psychology*, p. 113.

The folk is identified with Nature with respect to the ideological elements of its culture. The natural environment has power to shape the moral tone of a folk group. Where the surroundings limit the food supply, infanticide, cannibalism, and killing of the old and weak are condoned. When man lives undisturbed by the lack of the necessities of his existence, he finds little incentive to steal. When he is pressed, however, his culture adjusts to the situation and rewards his transgressions against his neighbors. On a primitive level, this is plainly demonstrated by the thievery of the South African Bushman at the turn of the century. The Hottentot and Bantu, with their superior weapons, killed off the game of the Bushman, and when he protested, replied by killing him as well. As a result, the Bushman undertook a campaign of stealth and treachery. His culture adapted by glorifying theft as a virtue.¹¹ According to the conditions of its external life the folk acts and later adjusts its mores through rationalization. The development of its moral nature hinges upon the circumstances in which it lives, and the overpowering urge for survival has the power to justify any action.

The folk is vitally dependent upon the individual. Wundt was well aware that the existence of a folk is inextricably interrelated with the existence of component individuals. He is not so overpowered by the concept of the superorganic that he underestimates the individual element. Nevertheless, if the individual created the folk, the folk creates and conditions the individual. Each is essential to the growth and development of the other. "So ist die Volksseele ein Erzeugnis der Einzelseelen, aus denen sie besteht; aber diese sind nicht minder Erzeugnisse der Volksseele, an der sie teilnehmen."¹² When dealing with psychological mechanisms directly, Wundt is consistently conscious that the individual, or in actuality, a group of individuals, exists in the folk situation. The aim of folk psychology centers on the clarification of mental processes, and though these processes ultimately reside in the individual, the folk principle assists in comprehending them.

The folk guides the originality of the individual. It accomplishes this by determining his ap-

perception. Certain channels of endeavor, conditioned by tradition, by the materials of the environment, and by the need for new elements are open to those persons with creative ability. What the folk needs or can use is the chief constraint upon invention. If, as Wundt says, "für viele psychische Erzeugnisse, wie die Sprache, die mythischen Vorstellungen, ist diese Gemeinschaft geradezu eine Lebensbedingung ihrer Existenz,"¹³ it is because these elements in turn are vital to the life of the folk, and there is sanction as well as opportunity for their invention. In simple societies the people do not build marble temples; a statue of wood suffices. The conditioning which they have received does not impel them to build any other. To those who labor in acceptable channels are given the highest rewards. In this way the folk guides its own creativeness and rules its own configuration.

The folk cultivates, trains, and prunes out the individuals who compose it. It endeavors thus to insure its status and destiny. The relationships among its members are highly personal, either because the group itself is small, or because communication facilities have overcome the problems of coordinating a large group. As a result, there is great sensitivity to the actions of others, and especially to the behavior of deviants for whom there is little tolerance. Conformity to the folkways and mores is demanded, and punishment varies according to the offense. Those who cannot adjust to the institutions in belief and attitude are crushed out or disposed of by their fellows, while the great body, the folk, moves on as before. Under such conditions, as is to be expected, those who wish to reform important aspects of the folk culture are punished. Creative individuals must pursue goals which are condoned by the society if they are to win reward.

To those who contribute directly to either the material or ideological structure in a manner which enhances its present existence or enriches its tradition comes certain recognition. Homer contributed to his folk culture by reawakening its early heritage. Alexander the Great contributed to his by seeking to establish cultural uniformity in his empire under the flag of his own group. On

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

¹² "The folk mind is a creation of the individual minds from which it takes its existence, but these individual minds are no less creations of the folk mind of which they are a part" (Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, p. 10).

¹³ "The community is a necessity for the existence of numerous mental creations, such as language and mythology" (Wundt, "Ziele und Wege der Völkerpsychologie," p. 12 in *Probleme der Völkerpsychologie* (Leipzig: Metzger & Wittig, printers, 1911)).

the other hand, those who are able to survive physically as deviants in one culture may enrich it or another one. They may then be ultimately accepted by the recipient group. Examples are Jesus and Buddha who deviated from their folk groups to found religions. Each religion has subsequently been absorbed by so many folk cultures that Wundt terms them "world religions" because of their trend toward becoming universal. Both of these donors of cultural elements, though in different spheres, received finally the plaudits of the folk for their contribution to its existence and tradition.¹⁴

The folk is universal. Folk cultures are spread over the entire world. They are the societal constant, the basic societal unit. Though they are varied in outward appearance, they are equal in mental capacity. Their psychic unity endows them with common elements which they share. They feel similar needs and satisfy those needs in approximately similar manners. That the laws underlying their behavior are within the power of folk psychology to discover is a basic assumption of the method.

The folk is enduring. It accomplishes its survival by assuring its own perpetuation. The means by which it achieves this end are devious and are usually conceived in terms of the individual, except in instances such as war. The custom of female infanticide in herding communities is practised in consideration of the food supply of the entire group. All other interests are subordinated to that of group preservation, and in this instance, infanticide easily subdues that humane nature of man in which Wundt has extreme faith. Even so vital a human trait raises few protests against destruction of life when the survival of the group is at stake. All aspects of the culture as well as the personalities of the individuals composing it are molded to this central drive by conditioning through ethnocentrism and consciousness of the group. Because of its power to preserve itself, the folk transcends all creations of its members, all its culture, and all its component individuals. By assuring replacements, it rises above death. Though specific cultures disappear, nevertheless the main stream of the folk continues, presenting an indestructible front to plague, famine, war, or political upheavals.

¹⁴ Wundt, *Elements of Folk Psychology*, chap. IV.

*The folk transcends the state.*¹⁵ Though the state was originally the product of the folk, nevertheless the offspring seeks constantly to coerce the parent to its will. Failure inevitably results, for the folk is stronger and more purposeful than the state. Unless force is used against it, the folk will continue, regardless of laws, to pursue its creation of language, mythology, and religion. History has demonstrated the fall of innumerable states while folk groups endured. The state can function only as the servant of the folk. It is powerless to designate, divide, or coerce a folk group, for the folk follows its own course. Despite the arbitrary divisions of state lines the folk cultures can persist. The true rulers are the folk, and the state remains ever its servant, obeying its directives.

As the folk culture expands into a world culture, it continues to transcend state boundaries. In a world of many states, both may exist side by side, according to Wundt, for one is a cultural, the other a governmental force. Like the family and community organization, the state exists because it is an adjustment to needs. Even in an age of communal and uniform culture, it will continue as a necessary adjustment. "As a legacy from the primitive era, man has permanently retained not only the general needs of individual life but also the most restricted forms of family and tribal organization. . . it will be impossible for an age of humanity ever to dispense with the more limited articulation of State and society which have arisen in the course of cultural development."¹⁶ In time the attitude of the individual will transcend limited associations to appreciate human personality for its own sake, and this estimation of human worth will be a universal norm. But it does not follow that the basis for governmental organization must crumble. The humanitarian view existing in the realm of ideologies can unify all folk groups in its spirit,

¹⁵ This and paragraphs on pages 264 to 266 represent the author's interpretation of Wundt conforming to a topical analysis of the traits of folk society. See *Dictionary of Sociology* and Howard W. Odum, "Sociology in the Contemporary World of Today and Tomorrow," *Social Forces*, 21 (May 1943), pp. 390-96; Robert Redfield, "Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, LII (January 1947), 293-308; George L. Simpson, "Notes on a Definition of the Folk for Folk-Regional Sociology," *Social Forces*, 25 (October 1946), pp. 31-34.

¹⁶ Wundt, *Elements of Folk Psychology*, p. 474.

but it need not affect regulative or disciplinary functions if these are attuned to it. Though the interests of a world culture and of its many component states are interrelated, all can exist together, for they cater to different needs of the folk.

The folk is moving toward an age of humanity. In the Wundt conception, the folk of the world are evolving as a single collective body into a large cultural organization. The tendency for a single folk or its products to reach out through world empire or world religion to encompass other groups is symbolic of the movement. "The transition from tribe into state, the changing intercourse of peoples, and the spread over wide regions of the mental creations of a single people, of language, religion, and customs—all these phenomena are obviously steps on the way to the idea of humanity and to its permanent incorporation into all departments of human behavior."¹⁷ In the age to come, each of the members of the human race will be permitted the universal rights to which he is entitled as a human being. In return for these rights, he must function as a tolerant and sympathetic member of the world culture. From the simplest folk cultures onward, the trend has been obvious to Wundt.¹⁸ The basic feelings of humanity toward those with whom it identifies itself, either as members of the same or related bands, or simply as human beings, are an integral element in the folk character. Though the savagery of man has sometimes obscured it, the movement toward an age of humanity is an irrepressible force which will eventually fulfill itself. The logical assumption from Wundt would be that at the heart of intercultural relations and world organization will be the folk of the world.

III

The formation of a global organization under the United Nations would illustrate in many ways for Wundt his concept of the folk. The chief sentiment behind it might be characterized in his term "humanity." The United Nations is basically a movement, not of statesmen, but of folk groups, Wundt would say. The members of the

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 473.

¹⁸ "Tendencies to esteem man as man, and a willingness to render him assistance, are not foreign even to the primitive mind. Even at the beginnings of human culture there are present, dimly conscious, those tendencies out of which the idea of humanity may finally develop" (Wundt, *loc. cit.*).

folk comprise the chief body of the world population, whether they live in isolated communities or hidden in the social strata of cities, and they express themselves through their representatives. A recognition of the value of the individual, of his right to develop his personality freely and to live unthreatened by war and the pressures of armament are prime motivations for the movement. It is marked by sympathy, as exemplified in the past by the UNRRA. A controlling wish is not only to reduce international strife for the sake of personal affiliations but to prevent the destruction and suffering of those numerous people on earth whom the supporters will never see.

The trend in the United Nations is toward the formation of a world community which is universally human, Wundt would observe. State lines are passed over, at least ideally, in favor of internationalism. The folk movement thus passes over into a realm beyond the separate states. The establishment of the recommended United Nations radio network, the recent strides in television and rocket propulsion will hold together the lines of communication even as they make the world a smaller physical and social area. These advances meet the requirements of mutual understanding and communication which a world organization demands. If Wilhelm Wundt were alive today he would in all probability hail the ostensible validity of his predictions, regarding the past war as an incident in the course of the evolution of a world culture. For Wundt a United Nations would be one of the inevitable triumphs of the folk, a sign of the coming of the age of humanity toward which mankind has always been headed. If this organization fails and war ensues, the folk, despite the setback will build again, evolving a universal group along with the growth of its many cultures. Such an age stands in Wundt's philosophy as the highest achievement of society on earth, the fulfillment of mortal destiny.

IV

Many criticisms have been directed at the work of Wundt, and many of the common ones are unjustified. Those who condemn him as an arm-chair ethnologist forget too easily that in his time, field expeditions for research purposes were relatively unknown. In advocating the experimental method for psychology he demonstrated plainly that he was ahead of his era. Wundt, like Spencer and Sumner, was forced to rely upon

the information at hand, and like them, overcame much of this disadvantage by scholarship. Those who condemn him as an ethnologist, moreover, disregard the fact that he was interested in the psychology of groups rather than in their ethnology. If the material on primitive groups is faulty, the blame ought to fall not on Wundt so much as on the tentative condition of the science at the time.

The disparaging attitude among some critics which greets the presentation of his four stages of societal development seems to spring from only surface acquaintance.¹⁹ The classification is not an end in itself. Its prime purpose is to illustrate the stages of development, to bring order to the understanding of the evolution of society. It is merely a tool, offering latitudinal levels on which Wundt could pause to describe social phenomena as they exist at certain points in the course of evolution. They are moments in time, chosen out of the continuum so that the achievements at any level may be analyzed.

Of course, there is much that is questionable in Wundt and the psychology of the folk. E. B. Titchener, an authority on Wundt, has put several criticisms aptly: "We may dispute his standpoint; we may question whether experiment fails where he makes it fail, and we may question further whether his own social psychology is not rather an application of his individual psychology to the data of social anthropology than the path to a discovery of new psychological disciplines. We may doubt also whether the time is ripe for generalization, whether there is not more to be gained by intensive labor."²⁰ But there is little questioning of the broad view of the folk which stands independent from the attempts of the psychology. It remains secure, if unnoticed.

Wundt's decision to name the field of his study *folk psychology* reflects further his emphasis on the folk. The problems of finding a name resulted in extensive deliberation. Two contemporaries of Wundt, Lazarus and Steinthal, met similar difficulties. Wundt points out that the achievements of these two men are best classified not as folk psychology but as folk historical psychology (*völkergeschichtliche Psychologie*) and as psycho-

logical ethnology (*psychologische Ethnologie*).²¹ Hans Volkelt refers to Wundt's interest as really being cultural psychology (*Psychologie der Kultur*), for he treats the manifestations of culture along with the processes which create it.²² Wundt himself wished the concept of the folk to be included in the name. He rejected community psychology (*Gemeinschafts-psychologie*) and social psychology (*Sozialpsychologie*) because they do not refer to the central theme of the folk which gives direction to his psychological principles.²³ He wished in this instance to portray clearly his individual emphasis on the folk and its psychology.

V

The folk according to Wundt is, briefly, a dynamic, expanding entity with a mind and spirit of its own. It is the constant element from which other societal forms spring. It is the root of folkways and mores and institutions. The state draws life and authority from it. It is vitally related to nature, for its configuration, moral tone, growth, and rate of growth are all dependent upon the limits, materials, and stimuli at hand. The folk is universal, a single phenomenon spread over the globe, which, though of distinct character in each instance, is nevertheless uniform in its basic needs, processes, and concepts. The potentialities of the folk for growth into a single world culture are enormous, and the tide of its evolution to that point is irresistible. A future age of humanity and universal cooperation is to Wundt the ultimate end of the folk.

In the folk group are to be found all the mental processes of the human mind reduced to their simplest societal terms and at once clarifying the problems of the individual mind. Wundt turns to the study of the folk group to understand mental creations in a social setting. A folk sociology turning to the folk to understand society would likewise, it seems, be assured of advancing its aims.

²¹ Wundt, "Ziele und Wege der Völkerpsychologie," p. 4, in *Probleme der Völkerpsychologie*.

²² Hans Volkelt, *Die Völkerpsychologie in Wundts Entwicklungsgang*, p. 90, in the symposium edited by Arthur Hoffmann, *Wilhelm Wundt, Eine Würdigung* (Erfurt, 1922).

²³ Wundt, *Elements of Folk Psychology*, p. 4.

¹⁹ The four stages provide the framework in *Elements of Folk Psychology*.

²⁰ E. B. Titchener, *op. cit.*, p. 502.

PURPOSE AND TRADITION IN SOUTHERN RURAL SOCIETY: A POINT OF VIEW FOR RESEARCH*

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THE rural peoples of the United States and of the world have in common the negative fact that they do not live in cities, but there the similarity between them ends. In a country as diverse as our country is, it is difficult to account for our assumption of rural homogeneity. Perhaps it developed as a consequence of our preoccupation with the rural-urban contrast, a preoccupation which has robbed rural sociology of much of the human interest which rightfully belongs to the study of so varied and colorful a subject matter. It was the rise of the city that gave point and content to the concept "rural" as a contrast conception and perhaps induced the illusion of rural homogeneity. We have explored this contrast to our profit but the further progress of rural sociology would seem to call for more comparative study of rural societies themselves.

Most rural societies rest upon an agricultural economy of some sort. Yet a common dependence upon agriculture, and even upon the same crops, leaves rural life far from standardized. The same plant crops go through practically the same processes of maturation wherever they are grown, but the social traditions which surround the growing may and do vary widely from society to society. On the other hand, similar traditions may characterize an agricultural society and an industrial society or a mining society.¹ But whatever the existing traditional patterns are they plead for themselves and resist change.² They must be isolated and brought under some measure of

control, however, if the social and economic problems which are rooted in them are to be brought under control. It is not enough to relegate the observation of traditional patterns to a footnote as something merely quaint and interesting while we discourse on the agricultural problems of how to grow more and better cotton and tobacco and cows. Not only must we become more sensitively aware of the presence of cultural and traditional factors operating in social situations but we must consider and constantly reconsider better methods for screening out these factors and subjecting them to analysis. We must know what they are, how they originated, and how they developed before we can map out very effective programs for their control and change. To this end it seems important that rural sociologists apply themselves more emphatically than they have heretofore to the historical analysis and comparative study of rural societies.

These reflections are occasioned by the recent reading of a symposium volume edited by Ralph Wood and entitled *The Pennsylvania Germans*.³ To one reared in the plantation South the contrasts pointed up by the various chapters are very enlightening. Kollmorgen's chapter on "The Pennsylvania German Farmer" is especially interesting to a Southerner. Indirectly it teaches almost as much about the plantation South as it does directly about the rural society of the Germans in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

The Germans who settled in Pennsylvania before the Revolution were members of a homogeneous cultural group. They were isolated from their neighbors by the barrier of language but religious affiliation was and remains the best index of separateness. Traditional Pennsylvania German agriculture was based upon the family farm intensively cultivated and highly diversified. In this system of society, livelihood was the principal norm of effort and planning; profits had only a secondary standing. The Pennsylvania German farmer "looked upon his calling as a preferred way of life and not primarily as a commercial occupa-

* Read before the ninth annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, Atlanta, Georgia, May 18, 1946.

¹ During the course of his discussion of the characteristics of the Red River country in the South, J. Russell Smith remarked, "The organization of the plantation is much like that of a coal mine." *North America* (New York, 1925), p. 249.

² Although the old-line tobacco farmer of North Carolina is the peer of tobacco farmers anywhere he is not finding it easy to adjust to the new methods required in the culture of Turkish tobacco. He is less successful in this field than farmers with no previous experience in growing tobacco. I am indebted to Mr. F. R. Darkis of Duke University for this information.

³ Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942.

tion."⁴ He operated his farm and his family affairs on a cash basis; it was said of him that he was "afraid of debt." All the members of his family, even his wife and daughters, had field work and farm chores to perform. Occasionally he might use the son or daughter of another German farmer when additional help was needed but this was not regarded as a violation of the saying, "The Germans do their own work." He enforced a strict family discipline but he generally succeeded in keeping his sons on the farm. He was concerned to secure enough land to provide them with farms and to conserve the land for their future use. He objected to farming practices that enriched the father but impoverished the sons.

The Pennsylvania German farmer could not conceive of a farm without numerous cattle but his attitude toward cattle was very different from that of the commercial rancher in the West or of the indifferent planter in the South. His cattle were part of an agricultural program which also included the growing of clover and the rotation of crops. For extra-family labor the farmer relied upon his horses. So far as energy was concerned, what slave manpower was to the ante-bellum southern plantation, horsepower was to the Pennsylvania German farm. The Pennsylvania German farmer was also quick to adopt labor-saving machinery.

Now horses and machines have to be cared for but they do not require government. The behavior of animals and machinery is, in general, expressed in a pattern which is predictable. Moreover, animals and machines do not sulk or talk back. They do not go on strike or riot. The human problems of the Pennsylvania German farmer were those of the head of a family. They were not ordinarily those of an employer of labor or of a lord of a manor. This little fact, insignificant or obvious as it may seem, is extremely important when it comes to understanding traditional plantation agriculture and how it differs from the agriculture of such a society as that of the Pennsylvania Germans. The planter might like to pursue a policy which would take account of the worker as simply a work animal or a machine but no matter how lowly the status of the worker as a slave or a sharecropper he does not cease to conceive of himself as a person and to act as a person. If the worker's wishes and interests are to be subordinated to the purposes of the institution of

which he is a part he must be governed after a pattern not ordinarily applied to the members of a family.

Of course, the plantation is an economic institution. It tends to specialize in the production of a staple like cotton, tobacco, or sugar cane in the South, or coffee, rubber, or tea in other parts of the world. It produces to sell and not to consume, and the market for its staple is generally a world-market. But the economic factors in the definition of the plantation are only half the factors; equally important are the political factors of authority and control. In fact, these latter are the factors that best serve to distinguish the plantation from other types of rural land institutions. It is the presence of an authoritarian tradition which constitutes the plantation into something more than just a large farm. The history of the plantation is not just a history of the production of cotton, tobacco, sugar or rubber. It is even more a history of the changing forms of control over extra-family labor in the production of these staples, a fact which is just as significant in the present unrest and revolt in the Middle East of Asia as it was during the period of our own slavery controversy.

Like the state, the plantation is based upon the authority principle and within it the planter possesses power, not only over the laborer's job, but also over his home, his recreation, and his daily relations with others. There are, or have been, plantations with constitutions, laws, courts, jails, policemen, and even monetary systems of their own. At one time in the history of the South the planter possessed the power of life and death over the members of his plantation. Like the lords of European manors he possessed and exercised immunities from the laws of the state to which lesser men were strictly subordinated.⁵

⁵ For an elaboration of the plantation as a political institution see the writer's "Population Expansion and the Plantation System," *American Journal of Sociology* XLI (1935), 314-326; "The Planter in the Pattern of Race Relations in the South," *Social Forces*, XIX, (1940), 244-252; "The Natural History of Agricultural Labor in the South," in D. K. Jackson (ed.), *American Studies in Honor of William Kenneth Boyd* (Durham, N. C., 1940); "Comparative Education in Colonial Areas, with Special Reference to Plantation and Mission Frontiers," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVIII (1943), 82-93; and "The Plantation: the Physical Basis of Traditional Race Relations in the

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

The authority of the planter over his plantation is exercised, like the authority of the sovereign of the state is exercised, to preserve order and protect the peace. Disorder is against the interest of the planter just as it is against the interest of the sovereign of the state. But to limit our conception of the planter's authority to this rather negative and passive function would be totally inadequate. The planter is no mere lord of a *grundherrschaft*. His authority is no mere restraining authority. Rather is it a positive and a daily inducement to action permeating all aspects of the plantation's life. It may help a little to describe plantation agriculture as military agriculture. The planter is not just the chief laborer in the field. He is no mere pace setter for the labor of others. He plans an agricultural campaign which his lieutenants and his workers carry out. He rides around on horseback or in his automobile inspecting and seeing that his orders are executed. Fanny Kemball and many others since her day have noted the planter's "habitual tone of command."

Of course the planter must know how to grow cotton or tobacco or sugar cane. He must know how to select his seed, when to plant, how to cultivate, when to apply fertilizer, when and how to harvest. But the requisite skills of the planter go beyond those of farmers generally. Not only good judgment but authority is exercised in the selection of seed and of planting, cultivating, fertilizing, and harvesting. Authority is woven into the fabric of the entire plantation pattern. The planter is disposed to look upon other men, not as ends, but as means to his own purposes. A planter, speaking of another planter, said to me, "Do you know how that man made his money? He made it with broken-down mules and nigger children." "A good overseer to manage mules and niggers," was the way ante-bellum planters sometimes advertised, and in the present South it is sometimes said in admiration of a certain type of white man, "He sure knows how to work niggers."

Just as insuperable difficulties are sometimes precipitated by floods or drought so may insuperable difficulties be occasioned by alterations in the pattern of authority relationships. After the Civil War many planters gave up and moved to town because, as they said, it was impossible to work

"free niggers." Today it is much the same. Planters are experiencing serious production and marketing difficulties but their most difficult problems are connected with the fact that the customary controls over labor are breaking down. They know how to produce more cotton and tobacco and sugar cane per acre than ever before but the old common sense knowledge of race and class upon which they based their control over Negro and poor white sharecroppers is failing. In the face of these new and perplexing problems of labor relationships planters feel confused and frustrated. Their careers as planters are ended not only when they lose their land resources or the market for their staples but also when they lose their ability to govern.

Paralleling the disposition of the southern planter to look upon men of another race and class as means to his own purposes is his disposition to look upon the land as a resource to be cashed in. In 1937, Arthur Raper published a paper on "Gullies and What They Mean."⁸ Of the nation's 150,000,000 acres of eroded land more than three-fifths are in the South. The gullied lands of this region of the United States, Dr. Raper pointed out, are the consequence of clean-culture cash crops, the unbalance between urban and rural economy, the exploitation of the Negro and the poor whites, and the plantation system. "If the traditional policy of southern agriculture is continued," Raper concluded, "the soil will be further depleted, the gullies will grow longer and deeper and wider, the Old South will continue to wash away."⁹

Gullies and eroded lands "are physical facts with social backgrounds and consequences."⁸ Land killing is not only a fact but a tradition. Like the pattern of authority it is part of the plantation tradition in the South. What are these "social backgrounds and consequences"? What is the source of this tradition? There are several answers in the literature but it will be sufficient to examine two of them. One point of view which concludes that climate bears the chief responsibility was brought to explicit and formal statement by the sociologist Albert Galloway Keller many years ago.⁹ The other finds the answer in the nature of

⁸ *Social Forces*, XVI (1937), 201-207.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁹ *Colonization* (Boston, 1908). Keller repeated his thesis more recently in his *Societal Evolution* (rev. ed., New York, 1931), pp. 344-372.

South," in Edgar T. Thompson (ed.), *Race Relations and the Race Problem* (Durham, N. C., 1939).

the English cultural heritage and is represented in the writings of the historian, Richard Shryock.

In the well-known first chapter of his book on colonization Keller finds that all colonies may be classified into one of two fundamental types: the farm type and the plantation type. The determining factor in the development of each type of colony, according to Keller, is climate. Colonies in the temperate zone climates develop into farm colonies characterized by local diversified self-sufficiency, intensive cultivation, and the conservation of soil and other natural resources. The unit of social organization is the family and the population is fairly well divided between the two sexes. Its democratic and homogeneous society is based upon free labor.

In the tropical plantation colony, on the other hand, there is a marked tendency to specialize in an agricultural staple which ranks as a luxury good in the mother country. Cultivation is extensive and exploitative. Plantation agriculture is a "ruthless and wasteful one, not only of soil but of men. It is what the Germans graphically denominate *Rabbau*."¹⁰ The colonists are predominately males, and the racial unit is the individual and not the family. Since "vital conditions do not permit the accomplishment of plantation labors at the hands of an unacclimatized race," laborers must be imported from other tropical regions if the natives cannot be coerced. These traits characterize plantation societies wherever they have been established and regardless of the nationality of the planters.

Keller apparently regards the plantation and all the traits that characterize plantation society as an inevitable and necessary consequence of the effort of Europeans to settle in and adjust to a tropical or semi-tropical situation. I have elsewhere¹¹ subjected this theory to critical examination and rejected it on four counts: it does not account for the existence of several historical plantation societies in areas of temperate climate; it does not account for small farm societies in areas of tropical climate; it does not account for the great and significant differences between plantation societies; and it does not account for the transition from plantation to farm, or *vice versa*, in particular areas while the climate remains stable.

¹⁰ *Colonization*, p. 11.

¹¹ "The Climatic Theory of the Plantation," *Agricultural History*, XV (1941), 49-60.

American historians since Turner have tended to emphasize the creative experience of the frontier in American historical development. One student of southern history who has gone beyond description to explanation is Richard Shryock whose writings mark at least a partial return to the pre-Turner emphasis upon the cultural heritage from Old Europe. Shryock has been especially interested in the comparative study of British and German heritages in southern agriculture.¹² The differences are significant:

While the English settlers were girdling the trees or at best leaving the stumps in the fields, the Germans pulled everything out by the roots. While the English scratched their loose soils lightly, only to watch them erode with every heavy rain, the Germans ploughed their heavy lands deeply and held them intact. While the tidewater Virginians let their stock roam at will and actually claimed that to house cattle would ruin them, the Germans built their barns even before their houses were up—occasionally combining the two in the old Teutonic manner.

Instead of cultivating tobacco to the exclusion or serious limitation of other crops, the Germans rotated a varied series.¹³

After noting that other historians had described the English settlers in early Virginia as "obsessed by a desire for gold" and as possessing a "boundless faith in get-rich-quick possibilities" Shryock adds:

Here in Virginia were certainly a people lacking in agricultural tradition and quite naturally seeking the quickest way out of their difficulties.... One would not expect a people so motivated to "dig in" by intensive and varied cultivation—that way was long and hard. It required, moreover, certain knowledge and skills. One would not expect a people so handicapped to survive, unless they *could* find a money crop and that right soon. Tobacco alone assured immediate profits—

¹² See his "British versus German Traditions in Colonial Agriculture," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* XXVI (1939), 39-54, and "Cultural Factors in the History of the South," *The Journal of Southern History*, V (1939), 333-346. Paralleling and supplementing Shryock's work are a number of articles on German "cultural islands" in the South by Walter Kollmorgen. These include "The German-Swiss in Franklin County, Tennessee," U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, May, 1940, and "The German Settlement in Cullman County, Alabama," U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, June, 1941.

¹³ "British versus German Traditions in Colonial Agriculture," *op cit.*, p. 47.

or, at least, promised the most profit—and so tobacco must be grown regardless of the consequences. They could hardly foresee, in full, the destruction of soils, the mounting debts, the rural isolation, and the racial difficulties that were to follow.¹⁴

It was different with the Germans:

They were accustomed to and expected the hardest kind of labor. Coming to America to escape both religious and political persecution they were seeking a way of life rather than quick returns. Although their ideals were at times as materialistic as anything the Virginians desired, it was a different kind of materialism that was involved. While the latter set their eyes on profits, with the comfort and social position these would bring, the Germans dreamed rather of bigger and better barns. In a word, while the Virginians exhibited in America the ambitious economy of capitalism and exploitation, the Germans maintained the older semi-feudal economy of conservation.¹⁵

Again, "the Germans displayed an inveterate desire to do their own work and a corresponding disinclination to use negro slaves."¹⁶ The English, on the other hand, were directly responsible for the southern race problem since the use of Negro slave labor was in line with their purposes.

The differences between the British settlers and the German settlers in America seem to have originated in differences in national heritage; "... It is difficult to find in the minor geographical differences" between the areas in the South where each group settled "an adequate explanation of the wide divergence of their agricultural and social systems."¹⁷ "There is certainly considerable evidence," Shryock concludes, "that this divergence was due in part to the contrast in the motives, traditions, and skills of the two types of colonists."¹⁸

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 54. Not only in Virginia and in the South, but wherever they settled in other parts of the world, Shryock contends, the British were seldom good agriculturalists. In addition, because of their control of the world's seaways and colonies, they tended to discourage settlement in the areas they monopolized by people of other nationality who were good agriculturalists. Contrarily, German settlers in other parts of the world, such as in Russia and in Roumania, stood out from their neighbors, as they did in America, as superior farmers. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

It appears that the same agricultural contrasts which Keller attributes to difference in the climates of the areas settled by Europeans, regardless of the national origins of the settlers, Shryock is inclined to attribute to difference in the national cultural heritage of the settlers. If the conclusion implicit in Shryock's studies is that the difference arises from the British character as formed in and by the total British culture in contrast to the German character as formed in and by the total German culture then it, too, like Keller's climatic theory, must be rejected. This conclusion would approach the assumption of the existence of something like a national instinct or temperament as the primary causal factor in the very different histories of many British and German agricultural settlements. I do not believe that such a conclusion would be entirely fair to Shryock but his writings on the subject, valuable as far as they go, might easily lead themselves to this interpretation because they do not go far enough. When the comparative method is employed investigation must continue until all the relevant cases are inspected, and not all the relevant cases have been inspected. The English in New England, for example, certainly built a rural society much closer to that of the Germans in Pennsylvania than to that of the English in Virginia. And the Germans in their former colonies in Togoland, East Africa (Tanganyika), Southwest Africa, and New Guinea behaved in a manner much nearer the English in Virginia than they did to the Germans in Pennsylvania and in various places in the South.¹⁹

It is not enough to break down the expansion of Europe into the national divisions that took part in the settlement of overseas areas. It is of course true that the competition between Portugal, Spain, France, Holland, England, and later Germany led to important differences between these states in settlement policy and consequence, but it also is true that national rivalry was not the only complicating factor. Within the various colonizing nations there existed the rivalry of different elements variously motivated. Commercial interests in competition with each other were also in opposition to organized philanthropic, educational, governmental, and religious forces which in their turn were often at cross purpose with each other. We cannot treat any migrating and colonial group *en bloc* from the standpoint of national heritage. The British planters in the

¹⁹ Keller, *op. cit.*, chap. XIV.

New World had, in all probability, more in common with the French and Portuguese planters than they had with British missionaries and British Puritans.

When the comparative consideration of migration and settlement is carried far enough it appears that national culture as a whole is not sufficiently elementary to account for variations in colonial development. Of more tangible importance in the actual course of settlement were the differences in motives that mobilized factions within national groups into various action patterns, and in the colonizing activities of the nations of Europe these different motives of special interest groups have worked themselves out into a variety of patterns. For what fundamentally distinguishes human groups from each other is not so much the stuff of which their yesterdays were made as the motives that shape the present behavior of their members and the purposes that fashion their goals. Motives are the social forces of history.

Migrating groups variously motivated present themselves in a wide range of styles but in general they seem to fall into two broad types. In the first place, there are those whose members, possessing a sense of difference from others in political or religious faith, seek to withdraw and to segregate themselves from the world. Such migrations as the Pilgrims who went to New England, the Germans who went to Pennsylvania, and the Mormons who went to Utah, represent cultural migrations. Members of religious groups, trying to determine what the proper ends of life are, look for secluded spots where they can get possession of their own souls and direct their own lives within some scheme or system of beliefs. They migrate and settle as a community and they are concerned to maintain their institutions, including their agricultural practices, intact. They tend to reproduce, so far as circumstances allow, the folk agriculture of the lands from whence they came.

In the second place, there are those whose members seem possessed with a "will to power" and who move out into the world with a sense of expansion and conquest. They conceive of themselves as extending the frontiers of the world and of advancing their own status in it. They are adventurers, soldiers of fortune, traders, missionaries, planters, and administrators. The special purposes of these men may differ widely,²⁰ and with

vastly different consequences, but they all operate on the fringe of change, "somewhere east of Suez," and they seek to adapt that change to their own interests.

Those who came to the tidewater of colonial Virginia fell into this latter class of settlers. They came from England, but the motives which dominated the particular segment of the English population which they represented did not originate in England. The history of their purpose is far older than England. Just where and when the motive of trade and production for trade originated need not concern us here. The story of its development, however, would have to include the long episode of the trading factory, an institution which went back to the Hanseatic League, the Italian *fondaco*, and beyond that to the Phoenician trading colony. The trading factory represents the original pattern of relations between overseas peoples of unequal economic development. Consequently the enterprising peoples have to maintain the trading terminus at each end. When the English, along with the Portuguese, the French, and the Dutch, adopted the pattern of the trading factory from the Italian and the Hanseatic merchants, they were, as were their predecessors, more concerned with trading facilities and the establishment of fortified harbors and stations than with command over the territory of the peoples with whom they traded. In the Orient, where the pattern of the trading factory took form, this simple commercial policy became a territorial policy when the factories of the English came into competition with those of other European nationals. But a territorial policy in the Orient did not require any wholesale migration of Englishmen to make it effective. The production of goods remained in the hands of natives. It was sufficient for the Europeans if the natives under their own rajas and sultans brought down the produce of spices, textiles, and tin to the factories in the seaports to be shipped to Europe and sold at extravagant prices.

It seems probable that the English establishment at Jamestown was founded on the model of the trading factory. Like the heads of English factories in India and elsewhere the head of the establishment at Jamestown was given the title of "president." The common store or magazine found in the factories of the Orient, the Levant, and the Baltic was reproduced at Jamestown. Again, those sent to early Jamestown by the

²⁰ The Natives have difficulty in distinguishing between these agents and their motives and tend to categorize all as Europeans.

Virginia Company were evidently not selected with reference to their fitness as farmers.²¹ But the New World situation turned out to be an entirely different kind of situation from that in which the trading factory had functioned successfully. There were no towns or cities in which to locate. The native population was not familiar with the practice of trade and, save for a few minor commodities, did not produce the goods required and were not disposed to do so. Under the circumstances men who went to trade remained to produce for trade and the trading factory evolved into the industrial plantation.

The plantation became an organization for the accommodation of men of diverse class and race to each other in the production of an agricultural staple. But it did much more than define the pattern of race relations. It embodied an agricultural tradition, a tradition of exploitative farming. Tradition, however, is not something disembodied. Its operation in the various segments of our population is revealed in the different ways in which the members of those segments define situations and act these definitions out. The detailed analysis of the present and historical South from this point of view would, I am sure, throw a great deal of light upon southern culture. What follows is a bare outline of the role of the planter class, the poor white class, and the Negro class when seen in relation to the plantation tradition.

The motive of the trader or factor, modified by experience, became the motive of the planter, and the agricultural traditions which accumulated in the South originated in this modification. The life-organization of the planter was formed by his purpose and his ambition. The land passed into his hands as part of the new industrial purpose and he undertook to produce for the market an agricultural commodity which was entirely outside the traditional and folk agriculture of England. In Virginia this was tobacco. He might just as readily have planted opium poppies had there been any profit in them. The Indian was no longer looked upon as a customer but as a potential laborer. But the Indian was as worthless as a laborer as he was as a customer or independent producer and it became obvious that Virginia and the South would have to be settled by a new population willing to work or capable of being forced

to work. Accordingly, an industrial army of occupation was moved into the area consisting first of white indentured servants and later of Negro slaves. Thus there grew up around the activities of the planter on the southern frontier a kind of camp agriculture which came to be known as plantation agriculture.

The purpose of the planter required the subordination of land and labor alike to the production of the crop. Land was tamed, not domesticated. One English traveller observed that "every planter considers himself only a temporary occupant on the plantation on which he is settled. He therefore goes on from year to year 'racking it out', making it yield as much cotton and corn as he can without considering the future. He is always ready to sell out and travel further west."²² Similarly, labor, white or Negro, was regarded mainly as instrumental to the end of staple crop production.

The purpose of the planter was incorporated into the structure of the plantation, but the purpose of the institution as a whole did not thereby become the purpose of all its members. By some the pattern of waste and the exploitation of natural resources were adopted and transmitted to later generations but with the incentive to profit in wealth and status from that exploitation left out. Here is where the southern poor whites and Negroes enter the story. Almost universal in the descriptive literature on the poor whites is the emphasis upon the "void of pointless leisure" in which their lives are lived. What happened to the strong purpose which motivated their ancestors to come to America?

The act of quitting a familiar life in England and Europe for a strange and perilous one in America in an age when travel and communication were slow and difficult must have been motivated by deeply-set purposes and a great determination to realize them. It would be difficult to overemphasize the strength of purpose on the part of men who voluntarily sailed from England to the wilderness of the New World frontier. It was so

²² J. S. Buckingham, *The Slave States of America* (London, 1842), I, 258. That such statements were constantly being made by English observers from Robert Beverly in the early colonial period as well as by others through the post-Civil War period indicates that southern agriculture was no mere offshoot of English agriculture, no mere continuation of English farming traditions.

²¹ See the evidence on this point presented by Shryock, "British versus German Traditions in Colonial Agriculture," op. cit., pp. 42-44.

with those planted on these shores by the Virginia Company and who became the "ancient planters", and it was just as true of those who came later as indentured servants pledged to work five or seven years for a master in return for the cost of their passage. Some of these servants, possessed of some capital or with access to the capital of English investors, served out their time and became planters, but the opportunity to realize their intentions never came to most of them. In the competition for the status of planter relatively few were successful. The greater number failed and became the social ancestors of the present day "poor whites." Professor Abernethy suggests that the Scotch-Irish and German Protestants who flowed down the Valley of Virginia from Pennsylvania contributed mostly to the yeomanry of the South, whereas those who drifted west from the seaboard became the landless poor, the squatters and poor whites.²³

Those whites who were unable to maintain purpose, and who therefore lost it, were at a competitive disadvantage with those whites who could and did maintain it. They were subsequently defined as a class by their Negro slave competitors. Both John Fisk²⁴ and T. J. Wertenbaker²⁵ noticed that the appearance of Negro laborers in Virginia also marked the appearance of a class of mean whites. They had lived and worked as servants alongside Negro servants and slaves on the estates of the planters, but gradually they had been edged off the plantations and subjected to a process of natural segregation as they drifted together, intermarried, and locked themselves off from the plantation world. There was even some cultural reversion toward the level of the Indians. The isolation in which they were confined was not only spatial but temporal; it has extended itself to successive generations. In isolation other traditions were generated but the pattern of wasteful exploitation minus the motive of cumulative gain has persisted through the years more or less independently of the rest of the community.

The southern poor white is something more and at the same time something less than a white man

who is poor. Just the way the words "po' white" are spoken by Negroes and by middle and even upper class whites in the South conveys a conception of him as belonging to a special category. He is to be rather sharply distinguished from the mountain white in the South in at least three ways: (1) he is in direct economic competition with Negroes; (2) he is not typically a landowner; and (3) he does not live in a folk society. Landless, for the most part, in a society where the ownership of land has been a badge of status and with only his labor to sell, he has exaggerated the color of his skin as a symbol of his connection with the dominant white class. Insecure in his status he has felt impelled to press his claim for racial superiority upon others.

Mountain whites are generally poor but, unlike the poor whites, they possess and maintain a tradition of inherent superiority of stock which goes beyond mere pride of color.²⁶ They picture themselves, and are pictured in stories and accounts concerning them, as capable of great cultural training and development. Once given a chance, their superior stock tells and they quickly go up in the world. This seems to be one of their cardinal beliefs. Poor whites, on the other hand, are inordinately proud of being white men, but have no outstanding pride of ancestry. They have lost consciousness of whatever fortune their ancestors may have had and are not greatly concerned to increase their stock of material to say nothing of spiritual goods. If this statement is not entirely true it at least expresses a widely held belief about them. As Broadus Mitchell has pointed out, very little has been said in depreciation of the mentality, the morals, or the ethics of Negroes that has not also been said about poor whites of the South by their own blood cousins.

The mountain white has lived in a folk society so organized that there are always interesting things for its members to do. Their society has produced folk products and it possesses folk institutions. New experience comes as an incident of folk activity. The poor white, on the contrary, does not live in a robust society with his fellows, a society having its own stock of values and spiritual resources that satisfy. Periodically he has to go out looking for new experiences or "thrills." The mountain white identifies himself

²³ T. P. Abernethy, "Social and Political Control in the Old Southwest," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* XVI (March, 1930), 534.

²⁴ *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors* (Boston, 1898), II, 198.

²⁵ *Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia* (Charlottesville, Virginia, 1910), p. 146.

²⁶ See Charles Egbert Craddock's novels *The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains* (Boston, 1888), and *In the Tennessee Mountains* (Boston, 1884).

with his society and accepts its culture as a heritage of which he is proud. He derives strength as an individual from his consciousness of membership in it. Those around him are not only his neighbors but his kin. The lot of the poor white is different. His condition is expressed in the saying, "once a sharecropper always a sharecropper." In the plantation areas of the South the poor whites are rootless people with only weak kinship claims to soften their economic situation and without sufficient permanence of residence to build up neighborhood bonds. They move restlessly from farm to farm, from plantation to plantation, and from county to county.

Upper class whites of the South have been accustomed to account for the laziness and inertia of the poor white as the marks of a biologically degenerate people. When they speculated about him in print they have sometimes made him the descendant of the scum of England, i.e., the indentured servants. Like the traits of Negroes, his traits have been regarded as the constitutional endowments of an entirely different kind of people. If post-Civil War Southerners centered their humor about the Negro "the great body of Southern antebellum humor centered about the poor white."²⁷ It was said of him that he was born lazy and had a relapse. He wouldn't drink coffee for breakfast because it was liable to keep him awake all morning.

Another popular explanation of the poor white substitutes poor health for bad biological inheritance. In 1902 Dr. C. W. Stiles announced the discovery of hookworm among the poorer masses of the South and suggested that the parasite probably accounted for the chronic fatigue which seemed especially to characterize the poor whites. Poor whites were not inherently lazy; their energy was being consumed by hookworms. The New York *Sun* headlined the discovery "Germ of Laziness Found?" after which hookworm became, to many Southerners, just a polite northern word for laziness. But it also became to Walter Hines Page, to the young man connected with the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission for the Eradication of Hookworm Disease, and to many others who took up the cause, the chief factor in the low state of civilization among the rural white masses of the South.

Stiles and his colleagues undertook to demon-

strate that the "dirt-eating" and the chronic fatigue so widespread in the rural South were not themselves diseases, but symptoms of another disease, hookworm. The devoted efforts of these men and their successors to eliminate or at least reduce the incidence of hookworm in this region richly deserve all the praise and honor we have given them, but the probability remains that hookworm is itself symptomatic of an even more basic condition. This is, not inherent laziness, but a tradition of improvidence, moral degeneracy, lack of ambition, and indifference to profitable labor. It is a tradition traceable to social and economic factors in the poor white's connections with the rest of the community. What is missing is a sense of purpose or a clear-cut conception of the meaning of his existence. His state of aimlessness, of purposelessness, and of footlooseness expresses itself not merely in laziness and general inefficiency but also in demoralizing habits, crime, insanity, and disease.

It is not contended that the poor whites of the present South are necessarily the blood descendants of the original body of whites edged off the plantations into the sand hills and pine barrens. Individual poor whites have moved up and out of their class and the class has recruited some of its members from planter and yeoman whites who have moved down. Not much is known about the biological make-up of the original poor whites, and genealogies of contemporary poor whites would, in all probability, prove very little. But there is a poor white tradition and the overwhelming probability is that anyone brought up in it will remain a poor white regardless of the composition of the genes that made him. The poor whites are the social inheritors of that segment of the original colonial population of whites that lost purpose and momentum. They have come to a dead stop, and they cannot get started again without some aid from outside their own ranks. They cannot get started again without some filling of the social emptiness or void in which their individual members exist.

The story of the Negro is very different. As Booker T. Washington was fond of saying, he is the only one of our citizens whose ancestors came to these shores by special invitation. In contrast to the marked strength of purpose animating the original white settlers from Europe, the dominating will that brought the Negro here was not his own. We are accustomed to attribute the differ-

²⁷ Jenette Tandy, *The Crackerbox Philosophers in American Humor and Satire* (New York, 1925), p. 66.

ence between the progress of whites and Negroes in America to differences in race and culture, but it is entirely reasonable to suppose that, had there been no original differences in race and culture, the sheer presence of purpose in one group and its absence in the other would in time have accounted for at least a part of the difference in progress made by whites as compared to the Negroes. Added to this original difference in purpose was one hundred and fifty years of slavery which effectively blocked the acquisition by Negroes of the American tradition of achievement and material progress.

It was inevitable that the habits of slavery and of subordination would continue to dispose Negroes after Emancipation to live and to shape their behavior by the pressure of contingencies alone. It was inevitable, too, and very human, that freedom should be defined in terms opposed to the forced labor of slavery. As Park says:

The freeman was not able at once to enter into the spirit and tradition of a free competitive and industrial society. He had no conception, for example, of the secret terror that haunts the free laborer; the fear, namely, of losing his job and of being out of work. On the contrary, his first conception of freedom was that of a condition in which he would be permanently out of work. So far, therefore, from being possessed by that mania for owning things which is the characteristic, as the communists tell us, of a capitalistic society, his first impulse and aim were to get as deeply in debt as possible.²⁸

In time, however, the greater measure of competition which freedom introduced into the life conditions of Negroes has forced more and more of them to seek work for which others, including whites, also were seeking. In 1904 William Garrott Brown called attention to the rise of white competition against the Negro. "The white man whom the Negro has to fear," he said, "is no longer the man who would force him to work. It is the man who would take his work away from him. The danger, the immediate menace, is from rivalry rather than oppression."²⁹ Now the almost revolutionary result of this competition is a profoundly changing attitude on the part of Negroes towards jobs and job opportunities. Negroes are more critically evaluating the jobs they have and are

aspiring to jobs they have not had. The developing vocational consciousness among them means that many more Negroes than formerly are thinking less of jobs for the day only and more of careers. More and more Negroes are seeking to link up their lives with some continuous work promising honorable achievement. Numerous Negroes individually, and not just a few leaders of the race, are beginning to take stock of themselves against the future. Careers mean education and training. Hence the quickening interest on the part of Negroes, not only in the right to an education, but in the content of the educational process itself. The first of our non-English-speaking immigrants are the last to catch up with, and begin assimilating, the conception that America is something unfinished, and that all may contribute to its ultimate realization.

The contrast between poor whites and Negroes must not, of course, be exaggerated. The masses of southern Negroes, like the masses of southern whites, are impoverished both materially and spiritually. The great majority of Negroes face, in addition to problems purely racial, the same problems which confront the under-privileged white people of the South. But the general conclusion is, in my opinion, inescapable: the poor whites somewhere along the line suffered a failure of nerve and lost purpose; Negroes, on the contrary, came without purpose but are gaining it. The Negro is today mobilizing behind what is for him a great cause, the cause of interracial democracy. The poor white has no cause except the negative one of maintaining a precarious hold upon his position as a white man. Both Negroes and poor whites in the plantation areas of the South are caught in the same economic and social system so that the effort of one to rise invariably involves the other, but of the two the Negroes are in some respects the better off.

The improvement of seed, of livestock, and of farm machinery in the field of southern agriculture should and will continue but such improvements will not of themselves prevent what is left of the southern soil from washing away. They may, in fact, be used, as machine improvements have been used, to intensify the mining of the land and thus speed up the process of erosion. Legislative and administrative changes may be required but such changes alone will not solve our human problems. The standards of rural health in the South are scandalously low and must be raised but the total

²⁸ Robert E. Park in C. S. Johnson, *The Shadow of the Plantation* (Chicago, 1934), p. xxii.

²⁹ William Garrott Brown, "The White Peril: the Immediate Danger of the Negro," *North American Review* CLXXIX (December, 1904), 839.

elimination of hookworm and malaria will not automatically restore incentive and ambition to the classes deficient in these qualities.

In this paper I have tried to interpret in terms of purpose and tradition some of the social problems of the South with its planter, poor white, and Negro components. My thesis is that the plantation has been important, not only in the establishment of the pattern of race relations, but also in the creation of an agricultural tradition which has taken a somewhat different course in the various segments of the southern population. It is a tradition which should be isolated and thoroughly analyzed. This is a task for anthropologists and sociologists. The task of transforming or modifying tradition is one for education and if education cannot do the job required in the South then perhaps nothing can. And education cannot do the job as our schools are at present organized and directed. Not much can be expected from the uninspired and routine type of education now being dispensed in the rural schools of the South. How can the formal educational process be used to alter the subtle yet powerful force of tradition as it is handed down informally in the family and in the community?

Education resides in the process of cultural transmission but where there is a poverty of purpose and the people aren't doing anything how can education be made meaningful and vital? There is some reason to believe that education by itself cannot be relied upon to effect fundamental changes in the masses of people except under conditions of collective feeling. It is no accident that the major transformations of history originated in mass movements. From what source can we get a mass movement capable of putting some fire into the bellies of the poorer whites and Negroes of the South? How can these people be moved to feel and believe that the South is a land with a future as well as a land with a past? How can such a movement be steered away from totalitarian controls and directed toward the fulfillment of the democratic ideal? Where can we get the educational statesmen capable of organizing our schools to make the fight of their lives against the tradition of exploitation on the one hand and the tradition of complacency on the other? How shall we fashion the lever and, once fashioned, where shall we rest it?

SOCIAL SCIENTISTS ANNOUNCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EDWARD L. BERNAYS ATOMIC ENERGY
AWARD FOR RESEARCH IN 1947

The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, representing more than 600 American social scientists, has announced the Edward L. Bernays Atomic Energy Award of a \$1,000 U. S. Government Bond, to be presented to the individual or group contributing, during 1947, the best action-related research in the field of the social implications of atomic energy.

In announcing the Award, Dr. David Krech, psychology professor of Swarthmore College and Chairman of the Award Committee, stated the Society was sponsoring the Award because of its belief that "sound, objective research aimed at exploring the social implications of atomic energy in terms of the attitudes, fears, hopes, and thinking of the American people will aid us all in the formulation of a desirable policy with respect to the problems of atomic energy. This Award, made possible by a gift to the Society by one of its members, Edward L. Bernays, will, we hope, offer added impetus for the undertaking of this urgently needed research."

The Committee of Judges, in addition to Professor Krech, is composed of the following members of the Society: Dr. Ruth Benedict, Associate Professor of Anthropology at Columbia University and author of the recent study of Japanese psychology, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*; Dr. Alexander Leighton, Professor of Sociology at Cornell University whose research in a Japanese War Relocation Camp was recently published as *The Governing of Men*; Dr. Rensis Likert, President of the SPSSI, former government authority on public opinion surveys, now Director of the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan; Professor Gardner Murphy, Chairman of the Department of Psychology at City College of New York, past President of the American Psychological Association and the SPSSI, author of a series of distinguished volumes in experimental psychology and editor of the Society's recent volume, *Human Nature and Enduring Peace*; and Dr. Talcott Parsons, Professor and Chairman of the Department of Social Relations at Harvard University and past President of the Eastern Sociological Society.

All communications concerning the Award should be addressed to the Chairman of the Committee, Dr. David Krech, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Penna.

TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE EXPONENTIAL INCREASE OF MAN'S CULTURAL OUTPUT*

HARVEY C. LEHMAN

Ohio University

MAN'S career is a very recent episode in cosmic history. The tangible results of his creative thinking are of even more recent origin. To aid one in obtaining a more vivid conception of human achievement in its proper historical perspective, H. G. Wells quotes as follows from James Harvey Robinson who in turn credits the germ of the original idea to one Heinrich Schmidt.

Let us imagine the whole history of mankind crowded into twelve hours, and that we are living at noon of the long human day. Let us, in the interest of moderation and convenient reckoning, assume that man has been upright and engaged in seeking out inventions for only two hundred and forty thousand years. Each hour of our clock will represent twenty thousand years, each minute three hundred and thirty-three and a third years. For over eleven and a half hours nothing was recorded. We know of no persons or events; we only infer that man was living on earth, for we find his stone tools, bits of his pottery, and some of his pictures of mammoths and bison. Not until twenty minutes before twelve do the earliest vestiges of Egyptain and Babylonian civilization begin to appear. The Greek literature, philosophy, and science, of which we have been accustomed to speak as 'ancient,' are not seven minutes old. At one minute before twelve, Lord Bacon wrote his *Advancement of Learning*, and not half a minute has elapsed since man first began to make the steam engine do his work for him.¹

* This study was prepared as a by-product of other studies made possible by a grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council.

¹ H. G. Wells, *The New and Revised Outline of History* (New York: Garden City Publishing Co., Inc. 1931), p. 1171.

In terms of the time-scale set forth in the foregoing quotation, the present study attempts to reveal graphically the phenomenal rate at which several cultural areas have been developing during the last two or three minutes of Robinson's twelve-hour day. This task has been carried out by: (1) taking a sample of the creative contributions which are regarded by specialists within each separate field of endeavor as of outstanding importance, and (2) ascertaining the number of these outstanding works that were produced during successive periods of time.

In this article such comparisons are always made by means of graphs. The simplest presentation of the data would show, in the form of a frequency distribution, the number of works produced within each time interval. But frequency distributions would not yield the most satisfactory comparisons for two reasons. First, our samples from the different fields of endeavor are not all of the same size; second, it is difficult to grasp, without graphic aid, the real significance of a frequency distribution.

We need a method of comparison that will eliminate absolute numbers and put production on a percentage basis. Therefore, instead of plotting numbers of works against corresponding time intervals, we shall plot production for each time interval as a percentage of the maximum production rate, which we shall call 100 percent. Thus, every curve in the graphs that accompany this study has a peak at 100 percent.

CHEMISTRY

Figure 1 reveals by 25-year intervals important contributions to the science of chemistry from A.D.

1500 to 1900. The data for this figure were obtained from T. P. Hilditch's *A Concise History of Chemistry*.³ Figure 1 does not present data beyond the year 1900 because Hilditch's history was published so shortly thereafter, namely, in 1911.

If we grant that a small number of important chemistry discoveries made during the earlier centuries have been omitted from Figure 1 because the year of discovery was not available, there still is a very remarkable acceleration of chemistry contributions in recent times.

Thus, more than one-third (688) of the 1,616 contributions listed by Hilditch were made during

curve in Figure 1 rises at its most rapid rate. Competent chemists assure the present writer that this acceleration has continued to date and that notable chemistry discoveries have been made at an even faster rate since the year 1900 than during any previous period of equal length. Of interest in this connection is the fact that, between World War I and World War II, the number of well-trained chemists in the U. S. A. increased approximately ten-fold, i.e., from approximately 3,000 to more than 30,000. And the statistics of college and university enrollments since the close of World War II suggest that the number of wel

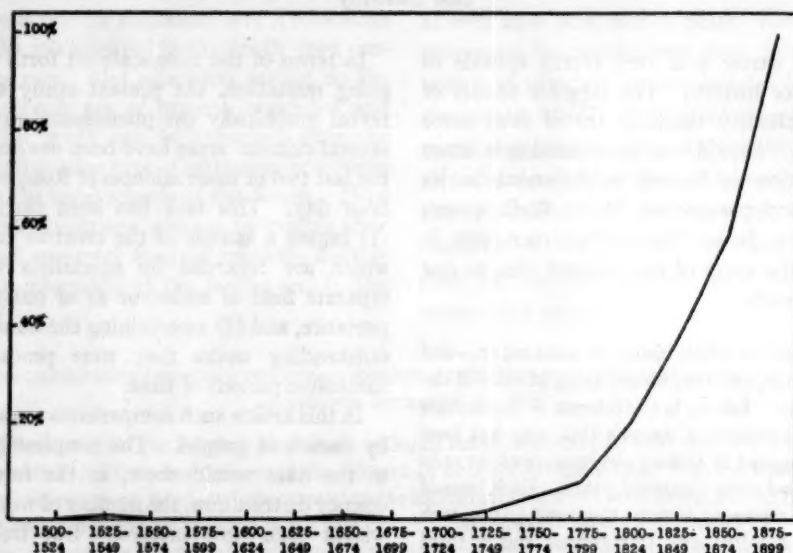


FIG. 1. CONTRIBUTIONS TO CHEMISTRY FROM A.D. 1500 TO 1900

the last 25-year interval for which data are presented in Figure 1, namely, that from 1875 to 1899 inclusive. In Figure 1 the number 688 (maximum production rate for a 25-year interval) is plotted as 100 percent. Between 1850 and 1874 inclusive, the number of chemistry contributions is 401, which is 58 percent of the maximum production rate (58 percent of 688). In Figure 1 the number 401 is plotted, therefore, as 58 percent. Similarly, from 1825 to 1849 inclusive, the number of chemistry contributions is 263, or 38 percent of the number contributed from 1875 to 1899 inclusive.

During the years from 1875 to 1899 inclusive, the

³T. P. Hilditch, *A Concise History of Chemistry* (New York: D. van Nostrand Co., 1911).

trained individuals in every field is likely to increase markedly during the next few years.

GENETICS

Figure 2 sets forth important contributions to genetics from A.D. 1600 to 1925 as listed by Professor R. C. Cook in a chronology published in 1937.³ It is significant that Cook lists more contributions to genetics for the 25-year interval from 1900 to 1924 than for all preceding centuries. Thus, only 111 of the contributions assembled by Cook were made prior to the year 1900, whereas,

³R. C. Cook, "A Chronology of Genetics," *U. S. Dep't of Agriculture Yearbook of Agriculture*, 1937, pp. 1457-1477.

116 such contributions were made from the year 1900 to 1924 inclusive.

177 select geological contributions. The contributions used for the construction of Figure 3 are

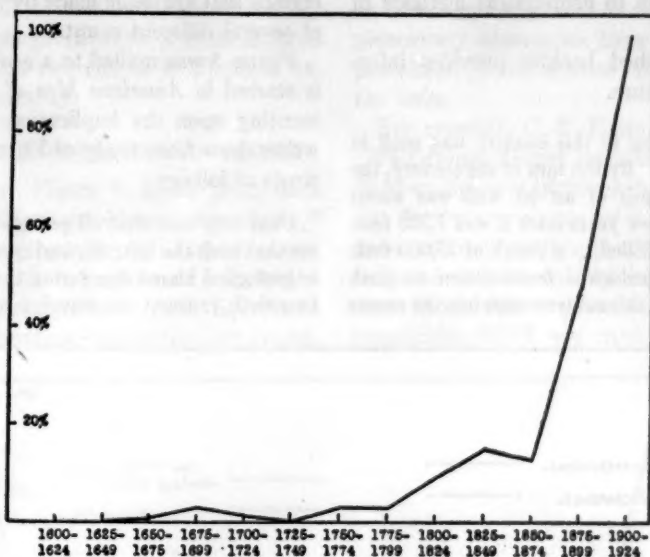


FIG. 2. CONTRIBUTIONS TO GENETICS FROM A.D. 1600 TO 1925

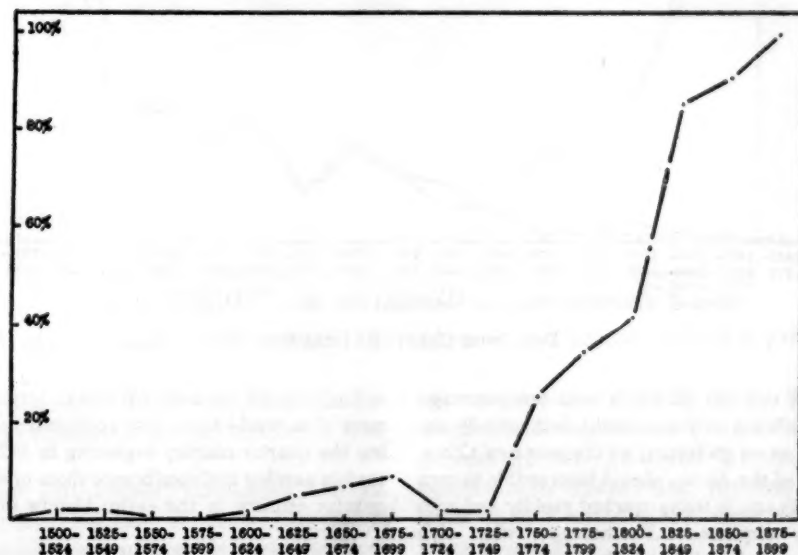


FIG. 3. CONTRIBUTIONS TO GEOLOGY FROM A.D. 1500 TO 1900

GEOLOGY

Figure 3 reveals notable contributions to geology as set forth by Mather and Mason.⁴ The relative irregularity of Figure 3 is due largely to the fact that this figure contains data for a total of only

chiefly from the field of "pure" science. But the applications of man's knowledge regarding geological facts are likewise increasing at a phenomenal rate. Thus, Crowther⁵ remarked in 1941 that the deposits of oil known until recently were sufficient

⁴ K. F. Mather and S. L. Mason, *A Source Book in Geology* (McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1939).

⁵ J. C. Crowther, *The Social Relations of Science* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1941).

only for some ten years, but that 50 new oil and gas pools were discovered in Texas alone in 1935. This was largely due to geophysical methods of prospecting.

A recently published booklet provides information of similar nature.

The first oil well dug in this country was sunk in Pennsylvania in 1859. By the turn of the century, the greatest practical depth of an oil well was about 1,000 feet. Twenty-five years later it was 7,300 feet. Recently a well was drilled to a depth of 15,000 feet. The ability of our geological frontiersmen to push deeper and deeper into this subterranean frontier means

One is reminded by the foregoing quotation of the present-day expeditions to the Antarctic regions that are being made by the representatives of several different countries.

Figure 3 was mailed to a geologist whose name is starred in *American Men of Science*. In commenting upon the implications that the present writer drew from study of Figure 3 this geologist⁷ wrote as follows:

I am very sure that all geologists would agree with me that both the quantity and quality of contributions to geological knowledge during the first quarter of the twentieth century are superior to those of any pre-

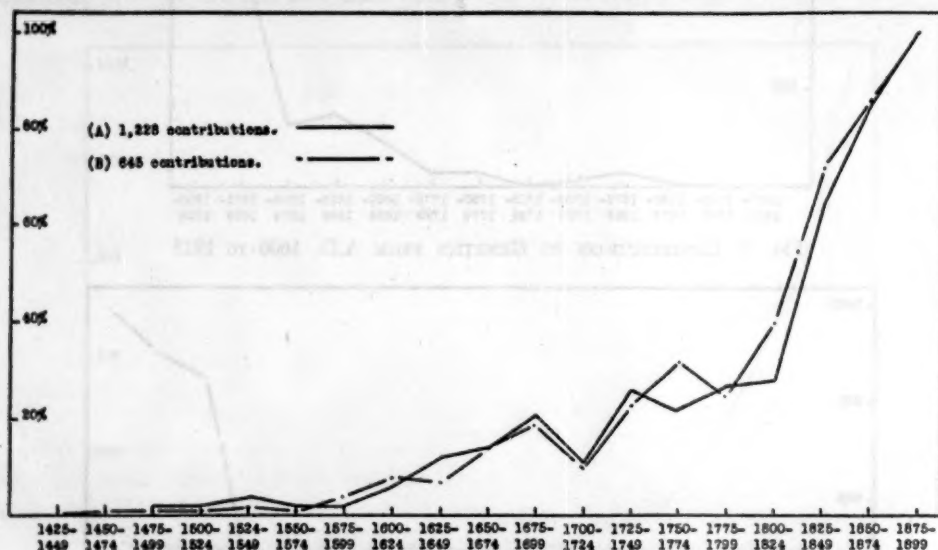


FIG. 4. CONTRIBUTIONS TO MATHEMATICS FROM A.D. 1425 TO 1900

(A) Data from Cajori (B) Data from Bell.

that today we can tap oil which even ten years ago would have been not only inaccessible but actually unknown. And as we go deeper, we discover new riches.

The region of the Arctic, almost inaccessible to men like Admiral Peary, is today reached rapidly and with regularity by airplane....Furthermore, what rich stores of metal and fuel it may hold for us is as yet known but slightly. In my own industry it's recognized that the Arctic Region is one of the four most likely areas in which to find oil, the other three being the Near East, the area between Australia and India, and the Caribbean region to the south of us. That the Arctic Ocean may cover vast stores of the petroleum for warmth, and for the power on which much of our mechanical civilization operates may, indeed, be one of the compensations of Nature.⁶

⁶ R. T. Haslam, *New Frontiers*. An address delivered by the Director of the Standard Oil Company of New

Jersey on the occasion of the dedication of a new 100-octane plant at the Standard Oil Company's Baltimore Refinery (Undated reprint), pp. 7, 5.

⁷This geologist will be nameless here because permission to quote his statement was not requested when the writer mailed his letter of inquiry.

MATHEMATICS

In Figure 4, curves are plotted with data obtained from two different source books in order to compare the results. The solid line of Figure 4 presents data for 1,229 mathematical contributions

listed by Florian Cajori,⁸ and the broken line sets forth data for 645 contributions cited by E. T. Bell.⁹ Although Cajori and Bell followed entirely different plans in the preparation of their histories of mathematics, the two curves of Figure 4 exhibit surprising similarity.

MEDICINE AND PUBLIC HYGIENE: PATHOLOGY

The solid line of Figure 5, based upon data taken from F. H. Garrison's history of medicine,¹⁰ presents information regarding 1,422 contributions to medicine and public hygiene made prior to the year 1900. The broken line of this figure sets forth similar information concerning 319 contri-

fully to develop and perfect them. In many instances an important discovery has been unused or even totally ignored until the necessary supplementary discoveries have made its utilization practicable, or until some crucial need has forced the issue.

For example, C. F. Kettering¹² relates that in 1874 Othmar Zeidler produced the new chemical dichloro diphenyl trichloroethane—DDT for short. But Zeidler saw no use for it, and the formula lay dormant for 65 years. In 1939 Swiss farmers were bothered with an unusual number of insects and, since there was a great shortage of the usual insecticides, DDT was tried and with amazingly

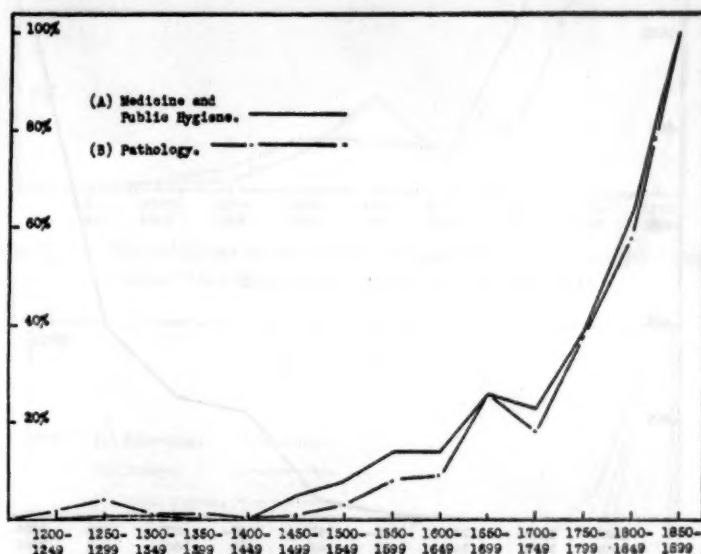


FIG. 5. (A) Contributions to medicine and public hygiene, and (B) Contributions to pathology.

butions to pathology as listed by Dr. E. B. Krumbhaar.¹¹ The similarity of the two curves in Figure 5 is striking.

When they first appear, discoveries and inventions are often the mere germs of ideas, and it sometimes requires a considerable period of time

successful results. During World War II, after much careful experimentation, DDT was found to prevent typhus. Today DDT is our new weapon against both disease and the loss of valuable crops caused annually by some 8,000 different kinds of insects.

The use of DDT for crop protection was greatly facilitated by the invention and perfection of the airplane. Its use as a disease-preventive was hastened by the war emergency and by the development of economical large-scale production methods. Little did Zeidler know back in 1874 that he was providing man with one of his most powerful weapons against disease-carrying insects. The foregoing example illustrates the typical history of a great many of our most important

⁸ F. Cajori, *A History of Mathematics* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1922).

⁹ E. T. Bell, *The Development of Mathematics* (New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1940). Pp. xi-583.

¹⁰ F. H. Garrison, *An Introduction to the History of Medicine* (4th ed. rev., Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1929).

¹¹ E. B. Krumbhaar (Ed.), *Clio Medica: A Series of Primers on the History of Medicine. XIX. Pathology* by E. B. Krumbhaar (New York: Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., Medical Book Department of Harper and Brothers, 1937).

¹² C. F. Kettering, "D.D.T." Radio talk, July 8, 1945.

discoveries. The inventor and his contemporaries rarely see or even suspect the potential usefulness of a new idea.

It is for this reason that the present study makes no attempt to plot man's creative output down to the very last year for which data are given by various source books. For most of the source books employed in the present study, if the available data are partitioned into very short periods and plotted down to the last year preceding the date of a given publication, last-minute decrements in output are found. But these last-minute decrements are probably due to the time-lag that must often elapse between the date of a discovery

most of which are of marked importance in the history of education. Each event was counted once only in constructing Figure 6. Like the curves that precede it, Figure 6 exhibits an exponential rise and shows no indication of having attained its zenith prior to the year 1900.

ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE: BEST BOOKS

In books which deal with the history of economics and political science there is so much overlapping of these two topics that it seemed inadvisable to try to separate them. Therefore, in Figure 7 the solid line sets forth important contributions to both of these fields.

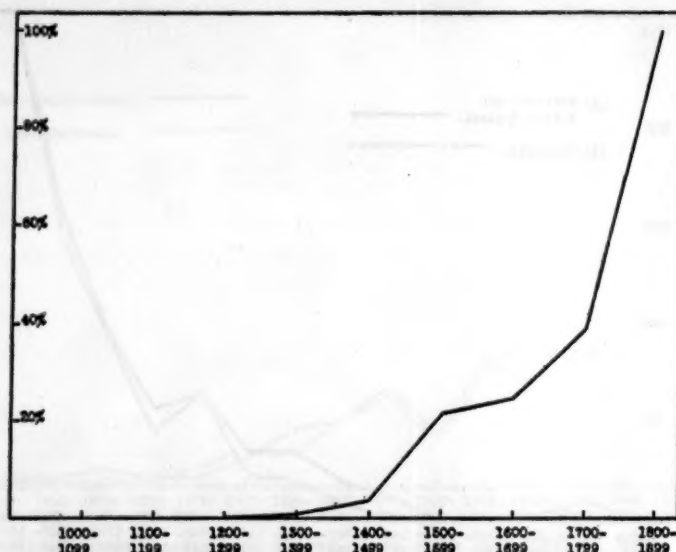


FIG. 6. CONTRIBUTIONS TO EDUCATION FROM A.D. 1000 TO 1900

and the date of full recognition of the importance thereof.

EDUCATION

With NYA student assistance, which was essential for the completion of this study, the writer made a composite study of 49 histories of education. Dates of occurrence were recorded for the following events, and these events were employed for constructing Figure 6 only when they were cited and discussed in as many as 3 or more of the 49 histories: (1) the publication of important educational treatises, (2) the formulation of notable plans for new types of schools, and (3) the founding of new and outstanding types of educational institutions.

Figure 6 contains data for 1,037 different events

The contributions to economics and political science (shown by the solid line in Figure 7) were obtained from a composite list, no book or tract having been employed for the construction of the solid line of Figure 7 unless it was mentioned and discussed in as many as 5 or more of 20 histories of these two subjects.

The broken line of Figure 7 presents the number of "best books" published from A.D. 1450 to 1900. The so-called "best books" were identified by study of a composite list prepared by Mr. A. D. Dickinson, librarian of the University of Pennsylvania.¹³ No book was used in constructing the broken line of Figure 7 unless it appeared in 4 or more of the 50 best book lists collated by

¹³ A. D. Dickinson, *One Thousand Best Books* (Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1925).

Dickinson. Note that both curves of Figure 7 are similar in shape to the curves which have preceded them.

in Figure 8 merely in order to conserve space. The sources from which data regarding entomology and botany were obtained are E. O. Essig and H.

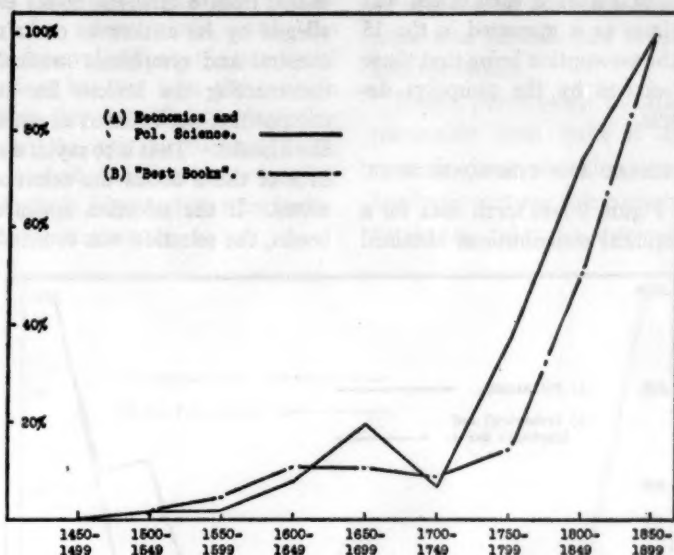


FIG. 7. (A) Contributions to economics and political science, and (B) "Best Books," that have appeared from A.D. 1450 to 1900.

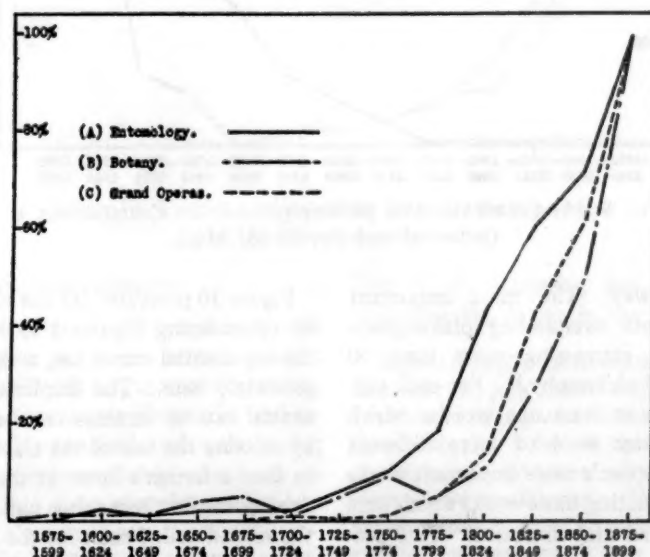


FIG. 8. (A) Contributions to entomology, (B) Contributions to botany, and (C) Contributions to grand opera, from 1575 to 1900.

ENTOMOLOGY; BOTANY; GRAND OPERA

There is, of course, no particular connection between grand opera and the two other kinds of contributions for which data are presented in Figure 8. These three curves are placed together

S. Reed.¹⁴ Data regarding grand opera (shown by the dash line in Figure 8) were obtained by canvassing 15 different books each of which was

¹⁴ E. O. Essig, *A History of Entomology* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1931); H. S. Reed, *A Short*

alleged by its author to contain a select list of only those grand operas that possess lasting merit and that opera-goers are most likely to hear. In the construction of Figure 8 each opera was counted as many times as it appeared in the 15 books of favorites, the assumption being that those operas most often chosen by the compilers deserved the most credit.

PHILOSOPHY: ORCHESTRAL AND SYMPHONIC MUSIC

The solid line of Figure 9 sets forth data for a total of 630 philosophical contributions obtained

losophy are that philosopher's most important philosophical treatises.

Data for the broken line of Figure 9 were obtained from 8 different books each of which was alleged by its author to contain only choice orchestral and symphonic musical selections. For constructing the broken line of Figure 9 each composition was counted as often as it appeared in the 8 books. That is to say, if a selection appeared in 4 of the 8 books the selection was counted 4 times. If the selection appeared in 6 of the 8 books, the selection was counted 6 times.

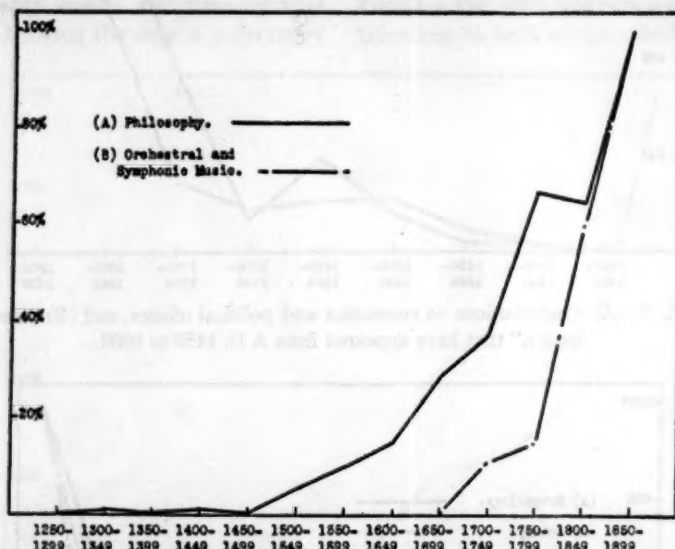


FIG. 9. (A) Contributions to philosophy, and (B) Contributions to Orchestral and Symphonic Music.

in the following way. The most important treatises of the most outstanding philosophers were identified by canvassing more than 50 standard histories of philosophy.¹⁵ For each philosopher who wrote at least one treatise which appeared in as many as 4 or more different histories, the philosopher's more important works were ascertained by noting those works which were most frequently cited and discussed. This procedure assumes that those treatises by a given philosopher which were mentioned and discussed in a large number of standard histories of phi-

Figure 10 presents: (1) the combined data used for constructing Figures 1 to 9 inclusive, and (2) the exponential curve, i.e., a curve that rises at a geometric rate. The implications of an exponential rate of increase can be made most vivid by relating the tale of the blacksmith who agreed to shoe a farmer's horse at the rate of 1 cent for driving the first horse-shoe nail, 2 cents for driving the second nail, 4 cents for the third, etc., the cost for the labor being doubled for driving each successive nail. All four feet were to be shod, 8 nails being used for each shoe. The foregoing arrangement seemed quite reasonable to the farmer until the total cost was computed. For driving 32 horse-shoe nails at the foregoing rate, the total cost would have been exactly \$42,949,672.95.

Return now to the consideration of man's creative achievements. For the world as a whole,

History of the Plant Sciences (Waltham, Mass.: Published by the Chronica Botanica Company, 1942).

¹⁵ H. C. Lehman and W. S. Gamertsfelder, "Man's Creative Years in Philosophy," *The Psychological Review*, 49 (1942), pp. 319-343.

these have increased, not at a constant rate as in the arithmetic series, 1, 2, 3, 4, etc. They have tended rather to increase like the charge for driving horse-shoe nails as set forth in the foregoing anecdote. In other words, with the passage of a given interval of time, the number of cultural contributions has not been the same in number as during the immediately preceding period of equal length. On the contrary, with each succeeding interval, man's creative output, of the kinds set forth in Figures 1 to 9 inclusive, has tended to double in amount.

been said also that modern man's problem is not so much the question of finding bread-and-butter jobs (difficult as that problem sometimes is) as it is the far more stubborn problem of finding work that permits him to develop intellectually and spiritually.

Man's present-day situation may be viewed reasonably from quite a different angle. For example, in commenting upon the fact that one hundred years ago this country had no telephones, no electric lights, no automobiles, and no radios,

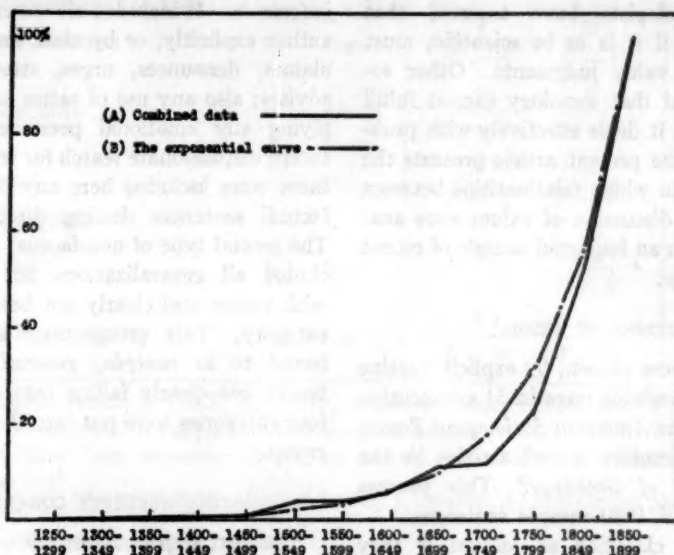


FIG. 10. (A) Combined data for Figures 1 to 9 inclusive, and (B) The exponential curve.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The foregoing curves reveal graphically the ever-accelerating rate at which several cultural areas have been developing during recent centuries. They suggest, too, that man's discoveries and inventions will probably continue to appear during the centuries that lie immediately ahead, at an even more rapid rate than they have been accumulating during the recent past.

Some writers have deplored the increasing number of our mechanical inventions asserting that, with our increasing mechanization, work that demands the highest mentality (or even any mentality at all) is growing more and more rare. The argument has sometimes been advanced that, because so much of the world's work is being done today by machines, the able individual finds fewer and fewer outlets for his topmost abilities. It has

Mr. C. F. Kettering has expressed his belief regarding the future in the following words:

These accomplishments seem so amazing to us as we look over the past that it is difficult to visualize the continuance of important developments for the future. But personally, I believe the story of our past accomplishments represents only the first page of the Book of Human Progress. The future, to me, is an immense store-house of inventions and discoveries just awaiting for some one to come along and unlock the door.¹⁶

Kettering's foregoing statement expresses a point of view that should not be ignored. Just as the possession of money makes possible the acquisition of more money, man's present-day

¹⁶ C. F. Kettering, "Tomorrow's Challenge," Radio Talk, July 29, 1945.

fund of knowledge makes possible for him the discovery of still more knowledge. Although in one sense the kind of work that demands high mentality is growing more and more rare, it is also true that

man's possibilities for making new discoveries are becoming constantly more numerous. From this latter point of view outlets for first-rate minds are increasing in number rather than decreasing.

FACTUALITY AND THE DISCUSSION OF VALUES

HORNELL HART

Duke University

MANY sociologists have asserted that sociology, if it is to be scientific, must avoid all value judgments. Other sociologists have held that sociology cannot fulfill its functions unless it deals effectively with problems of value.¹ The present article presents the results of a study in which relationships between factuality and the discussion of values were analyzed inductively in an impartial sample of recent sociological writings.

DEFINITIONS OF TERMS²

Two sentences were chosen, by explicit routine rules, from each available page in 51 consecutive signed articles in the *American Sociological Review* and from 19 consecutive signed articles in the *American Journal of Sociology*.³ This process provided a total of 1080 sample sentences.

Sentences were classified as factual if they presented statistical, case-study or scholarly data, adequately annotated, or generalizations clearly and explicitly based on such data. The factual group was divided into two categories: (X) factually supported statements that specified values are or have been held by specified individuals or groups, or that specified values tend to be fulfilled or frustrated by specified conditions, or sentences closely related to these two types; and (Y) factually supported statements not explicitly involving values. Definitely non-factual sentences also fell into two groups. The first (V) will be referred to hereafter as *unsupported value*

judgments. It included all sentences in which the author explicitly, or by clear implication praises, blames, denounces, urges, stresses, exhorts, or advises; also any use of satire or other terms implying any emotional pressure by the author except dispassionate search for truth. In addition there were included here any other clearly non-factual sentences dealing directly with values. The second type of non-factual sentences (W) included all generalizations not dealing directly with values and clearly not belonging in the (Y) category. This group may be informally referred to as *sweeping generalizations*. All sentences not clearly falling into any of the above four categories were put into the (Z), or doubtful, group.

NON-SPURIOUS CORRELATIONS

The next step in the study was to calculate intercorrelations between indexes representing the relative frequencies of the (V), (W), (X), and (Y) types of sentences. A difficulty in method arose at this point. Suppose that there were no tendency for any of these types of sentences to be associated with any other type more frequently than would be due to chance. Under that condition, if the correlation were calculated between the absolute numbers of sentences of a given type per article, a spurious positive correlation would arise because of the fact that the articles vary in length, and large numbers of one type of sentence would therefore tend to be associated with large numbers of other types, and small numbers with small numbers. On the other hand if percentages were correlated with percentages, a negative spurious correlation would arise, since the larger the percentage of sentences of any given type, the smaller would be the percentages available to the other types. In order to eliminate all spurious correlation, special indexes were used in calculating

¹ For an annotated analysis of a collection of such statements see Hornell Hart, "Value-Judgments in Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 3 (1938), pp. 862-867.

² For publication here, only brief summaries are given of the explicit and detailed operational definitions and instructions employed in this investigation.

³ See footnote to Table 1.

the correlations between selected types of sentences per article. The nature of these indexes, and the size of selected intercorrelations between them, are shown in Table 1.

supported sweeping non-evaluative generalizations can be predicted for any large group of articles gathered under sampling conditions similar to those in this study. The Z transformation⁴ in-

TABLE 1

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN VALUATIONAL AND NON-VALUATIONAL, FACTUAL AND NON-FACTUAL INDEXES OF 70 ARTICLES APPEARING IN TWO SOCIOLOGICAL JOURNALS*

TYPES OF SENTENCES CORRELATED	SYMBOL USED	FORMULAS OF THE TWO INDEXES CORRELATED†		CORRECTED CORRELATION‡	C.R.§
Non-factual, valuational statement, with					
non-factual, non-valuational	\bar{r}_{VW}	$\frac{V}{T - W}$	$\frac{W}{T - V}$.841	9.9
factual, non-valuational	\bar{r}_{VY}	$\frac{V}{T - Y}$	$\frac{Y}{T - V}$	-.330	2.9
factual, valuational	\bar{r}_{VX}	$\frac{V}{T - X}$	$\frac{X}{T - V}$	-.133	1.4
Factual, non-valuational with					
factual, valuational	\bar{r}_{YX}	$\frac{Y}{T - X}$	$\frac{X}{T - Y}$.873	10.2
non-factual, non-valuational	\bar{r}_{YW}	$\frac{Y}{T - W}$	$\frac{W}{T - Y}$		0.8

* *American Sociological Review*, 10 (1945), pp. 1-510; *American Journal of Sociology*, 51 (1946), pp. 293-526.

† T represents the total number of sample sentences in a given article.

‡ The coefficients have been corrected for size of sample and number of constants by the formula

$$\bar{r}^2 = r^2 \frac{(N - 1) - (m - 1)}{N - m} \quad (\text{Frederick E. Croxton and Dudley J. Cowden, } \textit{Applied General Statistics}, 1940, \text{ p. 933})$$

which, in the present instance, reduces to

$$\bar{r}^2 = \frac{69r^2 - 1}{68}$$

§ The critical ration (C.R.) is based on $\frac{Z}{\sigma^2}$ see Croxton and Cowden, *op. cit.*, pp. 683-684.

$$|| \bar{r}_{YW} = -.097.$$

UNSUPPORTED VALUE JUDGMENTS INDICATE LOW FACTUALITY

Any article which consisted largely of unsupported assertions of the author's own value prejudices would have a V index approaching 1.00, while any article which consisted largely of unsupported sweeping generalizations not valuational in character would have a W index approaching 1.00. The fact that \bar{r}_{VW} for this sample is .841 indicates that these two indexes of non-factuality in sociological articles are closely associated. Close association between making unsupported value judgments and making un-

supported sweeping non-evaluative generalizations would be less than .740.

Not only are unsupported value judgments positively correlated with other sweeping generalizations but they are also negatively correlated ($\bar{r}_{VY} = -.339$) with factual statements not involving values. Thus, articles which have relatively many unsupported value judgments tend to have relatively few supported statements of fact and of relationships between facts. The Z transformation indicates that there is only about

⁴ Croxton and Cowden. *op. cit.*, pp. 683-685.

one chance in 500 that the correlation between such indexes in an indefinitely large sample would be positive. The t test⁵ confirms the reliability of the correlation. This is in contrast with the lack of relationship between unsupported sweeping generalizations and factual sentences when both are non-evaluative. This suggests that factually unsupported value judgments ($r_{YV} = -0.97$, \bar{r}_{YV} being imaginary), are somewhat more valid indexes of low scientific verifiability than are unsupported generalizations.

FACTUAL VALUE STATEMENTS TEND TO INDICATE GENERAL FACTUALITY

Positive factuality is indicated, in part, by a large Y value, measuring the presentation and analysis of statistical, case-study, or other non-valuational factual data. A large X value indicates a relatively large proportion of factual statements about values (e.g., statistical demonstrations that specified values are held or sought by specified groups, or that the presence, absence, amount, or intensity of the satisfaction of such values is associated, or correlated, to a demonstrated degree with other specified conditions). While unsupported value judgments are negatively correlated with factual statements of the Y type the *factual* analysis of values is *positively* correlated with these other factual statements, as indicated by the fact that $\bar{r}_{XY} = -.873$. The Z transformation indicates that there is less than one chance in 100 that the value of r_{XY} in an indefinitely large sample would be less than .780.

No significant tendency is evident for the two kinds of statement about values to go together. The fact that $\bar{r}_{VX} = -.133$ indicates that there is no tendency for a high frequency of factual statements about values to be associated with a high frequency of unsupported value judgments. Indeed, the Z transformation indicates that there is only one chance in 100 that the value of \bar{r}_{VX} in an indefinitely large sample would be higher than +.118.

This lack of correlation between factual and non-factual statements about values is somewhat less pronounced than the corresponding lack of correlation between other factual and non-factual statements, already referred to.

CONCLUSIONS

The fundamental findings which emerge from the correlations of Table 1 include the following.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 681-682.

Unsupported value judgments are fairly closely associated with sweeping generalizations of a non-evaluative character, but factual discussions of value are associated fairly closely with factual non-evaluative discussions. In sociological writings represented by this sample of 70 articles, the question of whether values are discussed is not, in itself, a decisive criterion of scientific factuality.

NOTE ON METHOD USED IN THIS STUDY TO AVOID SPURIOUS CORRELATION

Since the formulas for the two indexes correlated in Table 1 are (so far as the author is aware) a new development, first introduced in the present article, it may be desirable to explain more fully the mathematical logic underlying them.

The objective of the study is to determine to what extent factual and non-factual treatments of values are correlated with each other and with factual and non-factual treatments of non-valuational matter. For simplicity, let us confine this explanation to the relationship between factual statements about values, and factual statements not specifically valuational. Let us assume a series of sociological writers, numbered 1, 2, 3, . . . n , each of whom has produced an indefinitely large number of sociological sentences which, for present purposes we shall classify into three types: factual statements about values, factual statements on non-valuational matters, and other sentences. Suppose we take one article from each of these authors and regard it as a random sample taken from the universe made up of all the sociological sentences which he has produced, or might produce, under the circumstances in which this article was written.

Let us represent the correlation between proportions of factual-valuational (p_x) and proportions of factual-non-valuational sentences (p_y) in the universes of the various writers by \bar{r}_{XY} . We seek to arrive at the best practicable approximation to this correlation by studying the correlations between corresponding types of sentences in the article-samples. We will represent the proportion of factual-valuational sentences in the respective articles by $X_1, X_2, X_3, \dots, X_n$, the proportion of factual-non-valuational sentences by $Y_1, Y_2, Y_3, \dots, Y_n$, and the total number of sentences in each article by $T_1, T_2, T_3, \dots, T_n$. The correlation between the raw num-

bers of sentences of the respective types would then be:

$$r_{XY} = \frac{N\Sigma(XT)(YT) - \Sigma XT \Sigma YT}{\sqrt{[N\Sigma X^2 T^2 - (\Sigma XT)^2][N\Sigma Y^2 T^2 - (\Sigma YT)^2]}} \quad (1)^*$$

In the body of this article (p. 290) it was stated that if the correlation were calculated between the absolute numbers of sentences of a given type per article, a spurious correlation would arise even though there were no correlation between the proportions of such sentences in the original universes and no correlation between the sizes of the samples and the proportions of sentences of various types in the writings from which the samples were taken. An algebraic proof of this proposition is as follows:

Under the conditions stated, r_{XY} will be zero if there is no spurious correlation, but will be higher than zero if spurious correlation exists. Now r_{XY} can be equal to zero, algebraically, only if (1) the numerator of equation (1) is zero, or (2) if the denominator is infinite. We shall exclude all cases in which the denominator is infinite, since this would mean that the standard deviation of one or both series was infinite. We have therefore merely to prove that the numerator is not equal to zero.

We shall represent the means of each of the X , Y , and T series by \bar{X} , \bar{Y} , and \bar{T} and the deviations from the means by x , y , and t respectively. Since each item is the sum of the deviation of that item and the mean of its series, we can reduce the numerator of equation (1) to

$$N\Sigma(x + \bar{X})(y + \bar{Y})(t + \bar{T})^2 - \Sigma(x + \bar{X})(t + \bar{T}) \Sigma(y + \bar{Y})(t + \bar{T}) \quad (2)$$

Multiplied out, this takes the following form:

$$N\Sigma(xy + x\bar{Y} + y\bar{X} + \bar{X}\bar{Y})(t^2 + 2t\bar{T} + \bar{T}^2) - \Sigma(xt + x\bar{T} + t\bar{X} + \bar{X}\bar{T})\Sigma(yt + y\bar{T} + t\bar{Y} + \bar{Y}\bar{T}) \quad (3)$$

Our hypothesis assumes no correlation between the proportions in the original universes, or between either of them and the sizes of the samples. If we assume a situation in which the smallest samples are large enough to minimize fluctuations due to random sampling, the correlations between the proportions in the samples would also approach zero. Under these conditions the summations of xy , xt , and yt would approach zero. Eliminating

the other terms which would reduce to zero, our numerator reduces to $N\Sigma t^2 \bar{X}\bar{Y}$. This will equal zero only when the sizes of the samples are uniform—or, in the present case, when all the articles chosen are of equal length, or are arbitrarily represented by the same number of sample sentences. Variation in the sizes of the samples does, therefore, introduce spurious correlation if the raw numbers of sentences of the various types are used as the basis of correlation, even in the highly favorable case in which the samples are large enough to minimize random fluctuations. It can be shown that this would tend to be true also in smaller samples.

But suppose that the proportions of sentences in each sample are used instead of raw numbers of sentences. The proportions in the various samples would vary somewhat from the proportions in the universes from which they were taken. But in those samples in which the proportion of X sentences was larger than in the universe, the proportion of Y sentences would tend (other things being equal) to be that much smaller than in the universe. In samples in which the proportion of Y sentences approached 1.0 the proportion of X sentences would necessarily approach 0, and vice versa. This would introduce a spurious negative correlation. Both these forms of spurious correlation could be reduced by taking large samples of uniform size, but that method was not practicable.

The formula $\frac{X_1}{T_1 - Y_1}$ means "after eliminating

Y -type sentences from Sample 1, the proportion of the remaining sentences which are X -type," and similarly for the other formulas in

Table 1. The value of the fraction $\frac{X_1}{T_1 - Y_1}$ varies

from 1.00 (when all the sentences not of the Y -type are of the X -type) to 0 (when no X -type sentences are present). A special case emerges when only Y sentences occur in the sample, in which case the fraction becomes indeterminate. Such cases were excluded from consideration in the present study, though they might perhaps better have been taken as having a value of 0.

By using the type of formula just discussed, the two types of spurious correlation are eliminated. Spurious correlation due to variations in the size of the samples is excluded since proportions are

* See Croxton and Cowden, *op. cit.*, p. 932.

used instead of raw numbers. Spurious correlation due to negative correlation between percentages of *X* and *Y* in given samples is eliminated because the proportions of *X* are based on totals from which *Y*-type sentences have been excluded, while proportions of *Y* are based on totals from which *X*-type sentences have been excluded. The

method introduces increased random fluctuations in proportions based on relatively small samples, but this tends to reduce the correlations, so that we may regard the findings of this article as understatements rather than overstatements of the relationships which proved to be statistically reliable.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF QUESTIONNAIRE-DERIVED OPINION DATA

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THE two most obvious reasons for employing the paper and pencil technique in any area of the study of human behavior are its relative simplicity and its wider coverage. In the general area of testing for emotional adjustment, for example, administering a paper and pencil test to individuals or groups is much easier and quicker than observing directly the overt actions of the individuals or groups in "life situations." Even when the difficulties of direct observation are overcome, the problems of evaluation of recorded data present further obstacles. When to these difficulties are added the need to cover a large number of individuals or groups, the task becomes even greater. It is understandable, therefore, why thousands of attitude scales, inventories, questionnaires, and paper and pencil tests under various labels have poured from sociological, psychological, and educational sources in recent years.

Intermittently, however, considerable criticism has been directed at the paper and pencil test approach to problems in human behavior. The criticism has varied from attacks on specific techniques and studies to categoric dismissal of all attitude investigations as useless "verbalizations in response to symbolic abstractions."¹

One of the most serious weaknesses of the paper and pencil approach is that the symbolized responses of a subject in a test situation may not truly indicate his response in a situation calling for non-verbalized action. While the recent

literature has many statements in regard to the problem of the relationship between measured attitudes and overt action, actual studies of the relationship seem extremely scarce. La Piere reported wide discrepancy between the actual treatment of two Chinese by hotel, restaurant, and tourist camp employees and the paper and pencil indications of the same persons as to what they would do in such situations.² Day, however, criticizes the La Piere study as follows: "In view of the fact that the two Chinese were accompanied by a white person, represented a select group (students and 'skillful smilers'), and an extremely small sample, the test is not a valid one."³ In this same article, Day goes on to point out that the only other study in the literature that compares covert with overt responses had quite different findings. The study he refers to, that of Roskelley, found a correlation of a +.68 between attitudes and public behavior toward beer, a correlation of +.76 between attitudes and private behavior toward beer, a correlation of +.69 between attitudes and public behavior toward hard liquor, and a correlation of +.83 between attitudes and private behavior toward hard liquor.⁴

On the other hand, Cuber reports that an examination of 643 experiences in the life histories

* *Ibid.*

² D. D. Day, "Methodological Problems in Attitude Research," *Journal of Social Psychology*, XIV (1941), 169-170.

⁴ R. W. Roskelley, *Attitudes and Overt Behavior: Their Relationship to Each Other and to Selected Factors* (Unpublished Doctor's Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1938).

* The writer wishes to express his appreciation to Drs. Walter C. Reckless and John F. Cuber for helpful suggestions related to the preparation of this paper.

¹ See, for example, Richard T. LaPiere, "Attitude vs. Action," *Social Forces*, XIII (1934), 230-237.

of 56 adults showed that 61.7 percent were inconsistent with the moral judgments recorded by the same persons in a questionnaire.⁵

On the basis of existing evidence, it would seem unwise either to accept or reject paper and pencil attitude studies categorically. As Merton has stated:

The current vogue of semanticism and Paretoism leads some to draw questionable inferences from these systems of thought and to urge that verbal responses are "really of minor importance." The metaphysical assumption is tacitly introduced that in one sense or another overt behavior is "more real" than verbal behavior. This assumption is both unwarranted and scientifically meaningless. In some situations it may be discovered that overt behavior is a more reliable basis for drawing inferences about future behavior (overt or verbal). In other situations, it may be found that verbal responses are a tolerably accurate guide to future behavior (overt or verbal). It should not be forgotten that overt actions may deceive; that they, just as "derivations" or "speech reactions" may be deliberately designed to disguise or to conceal private attitudes. The question of the relative "significance" of verbal and overt responses must as yet be solved anew for each class of problems. The apriori assumption that verbal responses are simply epiphenomenal is to be accorded no greater weight than the assumption that words do not deceive nor actions lie.⁶

Even if it were granted that there is little or no correlation between test response and overt behavior, attitude inventories would still have sociological and social psychological significance.

While it is true that one of our interest in attitudes is the clue that they may afford to the complete adjustment of the individual or the group, this is not their only significance. Whether a group of people actually does or does not practice permanent monogamy, the fact that it verbally declares its belief in this practice is still an aspect of its social behavior which is of vast significance. Its verbal expressions on the subject become perhaps the most important pressure of the social environment enforcing the monogamic sex mores in the community. The measurement of opinions, therefore, is of itself a matter of importance.⁷

⁵ John F. Cuber, "Real' and 'Ideal' Patterns in Affectional Moral Behavior," *Ohio Valley Sociologist*, XVI, no. 4 (May, 1945), pp. 3-5.

⁶ Robert K. Merton, "Fact and Factitiousness in Ethnic Opinionnaires," *American Sociological Review*, V (1940), 21.

⁷ George A. Lundberg, *Social Research* (2d edition, New York; Longmans, Green, and Co., 1942), p. 217.

In a later article, La Piere states that,

A measured attitude has herein been described as an overt-symbolic response to a symbolization of an abstract situation. It is just this kind of behavior to which Marx applied the term "ideology" and which Pareto designated as "derivatives." The former term has come into current usage; and it is generally recognized that the nature and role of ideologies is a sociological problem of prime importance. What has not been realized is that measured attitudes are actually specific ideological elements. . . . The questionnaire device can measure in a more accurate and specific way than has heretofore been possible what people say that they think, believe, would do, and will do and what they say is the reason they think, and so on, as they do. If, then, the questionnaire device is applied to the measurement of ideologies, a body of useful data on the nature of ideologies may be accumulated.⁸

Katz seems essentially to agree with La Piere.

The real significance of attitude measurement in social psychology is that it provides a method of getting at the affective and ideological—or if you prefer, the *subjective*—side of man. A social psychology which omits the study of attitudes omits a good share of its rightful problems. Social interaction is highly verbal and symbolic in nature. Men react not only to an objective stimulating situation but in terms of their subjective additions to the situation.⁹

Even when paper and pencil tests are confined to the measurement of ideologies,¹⁰ however, question can still be raised concerning the accuracy with which a specific questionnaire represents what people *think* they do, will do, etc. Although they point out that consistency and accuracy are not synonymous, Cuber and Gerberich found that 71.9 percent of the responses were consistent in three submissions of a questionnaire. It is interesting to note that these authors found a higher degree of consistency in the questions dealing with ideologies than in factual questions.¹¹ In an earlier study, Bain reported a

⁸ Richard T. La Piere, "The Sociological Significance of Measurable Attitudes," *American Sociological Review*, III (1938), 179-181.

⁹ Daniel Katz, "Attitude Measurement as a Method in Social Psychology," *Social Forces*, XV (1937), 481.

¹⁰ The terms *ideology* and *ideological* are used in this paper to refer to any expressed belief concepts and are not restricted to the popular usage of referring to economic and political systems only.

¹¹ John F. Cuber and John B. Gerberich, "A Note on Consistency in Questionnaire Responses," *American Sociological Review*, XI (1946), 13-15.

76 percent consistency of response with two submissions of a questionnaire.¹²

In an initial questionnaire approach to conforming and nonconforming behavior, the author attempted to throw some light on the problem of whether or not the responses on the questionnaire used in the study accurately represented what 504 subjects *believed* that they would do in twenty-five social situations. An attempt was made, by means of personal interview, to determine the degree of ideological validity of the questionnaire used; that is, to what degree did the belief concepts in regard to twenty-five verbalized conformity and nonconformity situations correspond to the belief concepts stated by subjects in a personal interview?

The 504 subjects studied came from five groups: (1) male residents of a large State university dormitory, (2) conscientious objectors at a Civilian Public Service Camp, (3) male Catholic students of a Catholic university, (4) incoming inmates of a Federal Reformatory for young men, and (5) female students of a small State university.

Approximately 15 percent of the 504 respondents, chosen at random out of each of the five groups, were interviewed shortly following their filling out the questionnaire used in the study. The following questions were asked in the interview:

1. Do you think your answers on the questionnaire correspond closely to what you would actually do in such life situations?
2. In the majority of life situations where specific laws or rules are known to you, do you generally obey or disobey those laws or rules?
3. Do you consider yourself a daring person?
4. Do you consider yourself a person who is lax about following rules?
5. If you very much desire to do something that is against some law or rule, which is more apt to deter you, your belief that it is wrong or your likelihood of being caught and punished?
6. Would most of those people who know you well classify you as a rule-obeyer or a rule-disobeyer?
7. Do your associates, friends, and relatives consider you a person who takes chances or runs risks?
8. Do your associates, friends, and relatives consider you a person who is lax about following rules?

Each interview was conducted in a situation where no one other than the interviewer and the

subject could overhear what was said. In each interview, the interviewer took time to establish rapport, to assure the subject that nothing he (the subject) said could possibly react to his advantage or disadvantage, and to create a situation in which the subject would feel encouraged to give honest answers.

Answers two to eight for each subject of the 75 interviewed were compared with the same person's response patterns in the 25 situations on the questionnaire. Question 1, however, was taken at face value. That is, if the subject replied that he thought his answers on the questionnaire corresponded closely to what he would actually do in such life situations, his response to this question was considered as "checking" and was counted in Table 1.

Eighty-nine percent of the 75 subjects interviewed said that they thought that their answers on the inventory corresponded closely to what they would actually do in such life situations. The percentages in the five groups differed considerably, however, from the low of 78.6 percent of group I (Ohio State University students) to the 100.0 percent of group V (Kent State University women students).

Responses to the remaining seven questions asked in the interview (see the foregoing list) were checked with responses of the same subjects on the questionnaires. An examination of Table 1 will show that there is considerable variation from group to group on the individual questions of the interview as compared with questionnaire responses and that there is also variation from question to question within the same group. These percentage variations (from 53.3 to 92.9) for the five groups (on interview questions 2 through 8) raise doubt about the accuracy of self-judgment represented in interview question 1. That is, when approximately nine-tenths of the total 504 subjects state that they think their questionnaire responses correspond closely to what they would do in such "life situations," may we (in light of wide variations in interview questions 2 through 8) take that judgment as reliable?

When the interview questions were taken as a whole for the 75 subjects, a 75.3 percent check with the questionnaire responses of these subjects was found. It may be concluded, then, that *at best* the questionnaire has an ideological validity of roughly 75 percent (measures what the subjects

¹² Read Bain, "Stability in Questionnaire Responses," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVIII (1931), 445-453.

believe they would do with 75 percent accuracy). As indicated in the foregoing paragraph, however, the reliability of the subjects' judgment about what they *believe* they would do is subject to considerable skepticism.

indicated that a re-submission of the same questionnaires results in a consistency of response of only about 75 percent. The present paper reports the ideological validity (accuracy of measurement of belief concepts) of a questionnaire

TABLE 1

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONSES OF RANDOMLY SELECTED SUBJECTS TO INTERVIEW QUESTIONS WHICH CORRESPONDED TO QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES IN THE FIVE TEST GROUPS

QUES. NO.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	TOTAL
Group I N—14									
Responses.....	11	10	13	13	9	9	11	12	88
Percentage.....	78.6	71.4	92.9	92.9	64.3	64.3	78.6	85.7	78.6
Group II N—11									
Responses.....	9	8	10	8	9	9	9	8	70
Percentage.....	81.8	72.7	90.9	72.7	81.8	81.8	81.8	72.7	79.5
Group III N—11									
Responses.....	10	8	8	9	8	7	8	6	64
Percentage.....	90.9	72.7	72.7	81.8	72.7	63.6	72.7	54.5	72.7
Group IV N—24									
Responses.....	22	16	15	17	18	13	17	15	133
Percentage.....	91.7	66.6	62.5	70.8	75.0	54.2	70.8	62.5	69.3
Group V N—15									
Responses.....	15	13	11	13	8	13	11	13	97
Percentage.....	100.0	86.7	73.3	86.7	53.3	86.7	73.3	86.7	80.8
All Groups N—75									
Responses.....	67	55	57	60	52	51	56	54	452
Percentage.....	89.4	73.3	76.0	80.0	69.3	68.0	74.7	72.0	75.3

Key to above table: Columns heads 1 to 8 refer to the question numbers on the interview sheet. The rows marked "responses" refer to the number in each group whose answers to the various interview questions checked with their response patterns on the questionnaires. In the following row for each group are given the percentage of the interview answers which check with the response patterns of the same individuals on the questionnaires.

We may state, in summary, then, that the questionnaire technique of gathering data in the behavioral sciences has been subjected to increasing criticism. The small amount of research into the relationship of measured attitudes and overt actions has been inconclusive, and some writers have defended the questionnaire chiefly on the basis of its being an instrument for measuring ideologies (belief concepts). The researches of Cuber and Gerberich and of Bain have

on conformity and nonconformity as roughly 75 percent. While none of these studies may be considered conclusive, the evidence is mounting that questionnaires are instruments of doubtful accuracy for measuring even ideological behavior. More research into the accuracy and consistency of questionnaire responses is needed, but, while awaiting the results of future investigations, the behavioral scientist had best be wary of questionnaire-derived data.

RUMORS IN WAR

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METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

IT WAS one of the routine duties of the regimental S-2 section to which the writer belonged to prepare a monthly intelligence report, which included a section on rumors. The five members of the section ranged in rank from private to captain and were unanimously enthusiastic about gathering rumors. Since they were in contact with every company in the unit at frequent intervals and their several ranks allowed association with every individual in the organization, rather wide coverage was usually obtained. Most rumors were transmitted to the writer within a few hours of being heard and set down in writing immediately, both for official purposes and in the interest of this study. Each report of a rumor was noted on a separate sheet together with the immediate source, the ostensible original source, the estimated diffusion, the date and circumstances, and an estimate of validity from both the reporter and the source. All five men became familiar with the mechanisms of the rumor process and appeared to acquire some expertness in estimating diffusion and validity. In addition to these regular "interviewers," there were about 20 other individuals scattered through the organization who were familiar with the project in either its official or its private aspect, and made it their business to accumulate rumors and pass them on to the writer. Information obtained from them was recorded in the same way.

At the end of each month, a count was made of rumors in circulation during the period, classified as to subject-matter and diffusion. The number of reports of each rumor furnished a rough check on the observers' estimates of degree of diffusion. Needless to say, no mention of persons was ever made in the official reports.

The original notes, together with a prepared summary which included considerable numerical data, were confiscated during demobilization by a unit censor who took a broad view of his prerogatives, and the present report has been written from memory.

STUDYING THE RUMORS

Classroom experiments show a very high degree of distortion in the chainwise transmission of

rumors. The usual method is to prepare statements in a field of interest to the student-subjects, to convey them to one student either orally or in writing and to analyze the changes either step by step or in the final process. The most striking finding in such a study is typically the fantastic variation in content. Other findings are expansion and contraction dictated by interest motives, a tendency to simplify categories, increase amounts, and amalgamate logically connected events. From these findings—and from related experiments on the validity of eye-witness reports—social psychologists have tended to classify the rumor process as a rather aberrant form of communication and to focus attention only upon its sweeping unreliability.

In security training of both the armed forces and the civilian population, great emphasis was placed upon the danger of rumor-mongering because of distortion, elaboration, and panic effects. Rumors do undoubtedly threaten military secrecy insofar as they may contain the gist of military secrets. But there is little evidence to show how the rumor process actually works and whether the generalizations derived from classroom experiments can be applied without hesitation to all situations in which rumors circulate.

During two years' service in the Pacific Theatre the writer had the opportunity to check the frequency of rumors in about a dozen company-size units of one regiment, and their transmission from unit to unit.¹ Something more than the significance of casual observation is claimed for these findings, since definite hypotheses were held in view during the period and rather extensive notes were kept. On the other hand, it was not possible to estimate the completeness of so informal a survey with any confidence, and coverage is known to have varied during the period. Consequently, the material is at best descriptive and at worst unverifiable. It is presented here in the hope that it will invite discussion in terms of related observations of the rumor process in well-integrated functioning social groups.

The word "rumor" as used here, is defined as an

¹ See for example Clifford Kirkpatrick, "A Tentative Study in Experimental Social Psychology", *American Journal of Sociology*, xxxviii: 2: 194.

item of information with definite interest connotations transmitted *only* by informal person-to-person communication within a group. Rumors are thus by definition "Unconfirmed." Also, there is sound perception in the colloquial usage which almost invariably excludes items not linked to group interests (e.g. these natives used to be cannibals) from the category of rumors.

The frequency of rumors in the group studied was surprisingly low in view of a great deal of concern with the rumor process and with the prevalence of rumors. The greatest number discovered in one month was seventeen, less than one per hundred men. During one period of two weeks, not a single new rumor could be discovered.

The rate of diffusion was invariably rapid. It is sometimes hard to account reasonably for the speed with which a rumor can leap a 300 mile gap in the course of an afternoon. In one case, the rumor of an impending operation appeared in a detachment isolated on a tiny island without radio communication approximately one day after it was introduced to the main body of the regiment. Similar "grapevine" effects are noted in all groups in whose activities the rumor process plays an important part. A partial explanation will be suggested later.

The extent of diffusion was rather great, ranging from 100 percent in several cases to perhaps as low as 1 percent in cases where value was attached to possession of the information—but seldom that low, since the suitability of the item for transmission is what creates a rumor in the first place.

The majority of rumors contained three associated statements.² A considerable number contained one statement or two statements, and only a negligible proportion more than three statements. The tendency toward tripartite form was so great that even narratives tended to conform to it.

During a given period, there appear to be certain centers from which most rumors emanate. Headquarters is always such a center and so is the front line during actual battle. Individuals may assume the function of starting rumors, even in the absence of special information.³

² For example (June 28, 1945): We are going to be in the Kyushu invasion... Already attached to the — Division for it... High point men will be left behind....

³ During one three-month period, Pvt. B—originated more rumors than the rest of the officers and men in his Battalion combined. B—was an elderly man, who had been an amateur of military history in civilian

life. The rate of diffusion appeared to decrease in some rough ratio to the distance from the center of emanation, though no very regular ratio could be discovered. In general, too, the extent of diffusion decreased as the distance from the center of emanation increased. The distance referred to here is a composite of physical distance and social distance. Diffusion of rumors was greater when the entire organization was collected in one or two ships but appeared to take place through the same channels established in the more normal situation on land.

The "channels" through which Army rumors diffuse are particularly important for an understanding of the whole process. Most of the diffusion of rumors actually took place through a relatively small number of rather well-defined paths. In two instances known to the writer, a rumor was planted at a fairly remote point in the channel with the intention of influencing a superior. In both cases, the information reached its destination, and in one case, had the predicted effect. Several factors combine to produce the channel system. Some of them, such as the limited number of contacts available to a single individual, the tendency to communicate new rumors where old ones have been received with appreciation, the dependence upon recognized centers of emanation, and the value attached to the possession of information are rather obvious. A particularly important one is the division of a military organization into sub-groups, both formal and informal, between which communication is limited. The most conspicuous of these divisions is that between officers and enlisted men. Only a few of the members of each group habitually communicated the rumors originating in their own group to members of the other, and these few habitual contacts—their number further reduced by considerations of confidence and of military secrecy—were the only bridges by which most rumors passed from one group to the other. The same was true of other divisions in terms of congeniality groups, sub-groupings of rank, company and battalion units, geographically separated groups linked only by radio operators, or by truck drivers and boat crews.

These tended to be two-way channels, since the communication of rumors is more often than not, marked by an exchange. The customary quid pro

life, had considerable knowledge of strategy, and made it his chief business in the Army to extract reliable information from various sources.

quo for a rumor is either another rumor or a validity judgment upon the one received. But the tendency was strictly limited by the rather small amount of valued information available at points in the channel distant from the center of emanation. It might be hypothesized that this would lead to greater stringency of validity judgments farthest from the center of emanation, and in fact this effect was often observed, though counterbalanced by the lack of background information with which to form a critical judgment; for example, among rear echelon personnel hearing of casualties on another island.

Several factors are related to the frequency and the extent of diffusion in a given period. The most important is the amount of non-rumored information in circulation. However, the curiosity of individuals may vary, the demand for information by a group—upon which the rumor process depends—appears to be easily saturated. The total amount of current information rather than the subject-matter of the information items is what seems to determine the state of demand. Before the invasion of the Philippines, the organization was elaborately briefed on the geography, ethnology, architecture, mores, and terrain of the new territory. Compulsory formations were held once or twice a week for instruction of this kind, and brochures were posted on bulletin boards, copied in unit newspapers, and often embodied in general orders. As this program continued, the number of rumors diminished sharply, despite sustained discussion of subjects like local enemy opposition and the accessibility of Filipinas, upon which the information program was reticent. The rumorless period previously mentioned occurred upon a ship in one of the invasion convoys in which the ship's captain made a practice of announcing over the public address system anything of interest that came to the bridge and would not be known on deck—such as a submarine search by escort vessels over the horizon. In this situation again, there were areas of immediate interest in which information was scant, and about which rumors would ordinarily have been expected, but the hourly bombardment of announcements on the convoy's progress seemed to satisfy the total demand for information.

Scores of similar incidents created the impression, presented here as an hypothesis, that the demand for particular information in a group of this kind can be satisfied by any other information

not totally irrelevant, if presented in sufficient amount.

Anything which disrupted the arrangement of "channels" appeared to increase the frequency and decrease the diffusion of rumors. Very thorough scattering of the organization occasionally took place and had this effect. Occasional official campaigns directed against rumor-mongering invariably increased the number of rumors and decreased the average diffusion. In this case, another factor may have been the enhanced value placed on the forbidden information. Rapid changes of plan effected by higher headquarters at certain periods placed variant rumors in the same channels at the same time and for short periods led to increases in both frequency and diffusion. Periods of organizational inactivity were usually marked by increases in frequency of rumors, and decreases in average diffusion.

When the group structure—and most of the channels—is destroyed, the same pattern of increasing frequency and decreasing diffusion is noted in intensified form. About a third of the regiment left together in the first large group to be returned for demobilization after V-J day. During a two week period at a camp near port, as many rumors were heard daily as had been heard in a typical month of the preceding two years. However, diffusion was slight even within the same barracks, and different patterns of rumor prevailed in each of some twenty barracks despite almost frenzied interchange of items at all levels.

Turning from the form to the content of rumors, we find configurations equally alien to the classroom experiment.

The most frequent subject of rumors were impending operations, and the travels connected with them. These alone accounted for slightly more than half of the total number in the first twelve months, and slightly less than half in the remainder of the period. Next in frequency were rumors relating to rotation, repatriation, and demobilization, followed by administrative changes, such as anticipated regulations, secret orders, promotions, shifts in personnel functions, and in command. Other recurrent categories were casualties (particularly those in related regiments and divisions), disease, domestic politics, atrocities (about equally divided between those referred to the enemy and those referred to United States or allied troops), vice and corruption (either as prevailing in a particular unit, or attributed to

high-ranking officers), and progress of the war (including peace rumors). These categories are admittedly very broad. The rumor of an impending movement might include not only the geographical objective, but also any of the related topics that might be found in a field order—from the calibre of emplaced artillery to the disposition of crocodiles in the creeks.

Then too, many rumors took the form of an authoritative quotation, with the actual content left to the determination of private inference. A well-known general was quoted as saying that the organization would be home by Christmas, and the rumor remained in that form, leaving room for argument as to whether the statement implied the end of the war or return to the States in connection with training activities. Often, rumors in quotation form embodied no more than an attitude, as when a new commanding officer was reported to have promised to "make it tough" for headquarters troops. What is significant about these categories is the close correspondence to prevailing values. Information not linked to the major group interests simply failed to move along the rumor channels, though much of it was available at all points.

The veracity of rumors was high. With only two doubtful exceptions (doubtful because the appropriate rumor may have circulated without being observed by the writer), every major operation, change of station, and important administrative change was accurately reported by rumor before any official announcement had been made. In the category "progress of the war"—perhaps the most important category from the standpoint of morale—only one completely false rumor ever attained wide diffusion—the rumor that Germany had surrendered in November 1944. The writer is not sufficiently informed to describe the apparently world-wide spread of this story. As circulated in the organization observed, it was based on a quasi-official announcement, which though vehemently denied later, seems actually to have been made. What is striking is that the reception of this peace story was marked by hesitation and reservation of judgment, as was the authentic peace news of 1945. Many of the "impending movement" rumors were based on plans which were later changed. Many of them contained half-truths, approximations, and inaccuracies of detail. But the selective process tended to favor the accurate items. Since military

secrecy did not ordinarily forbid the informal denial or refutation of false information, a long period of planning invariably was accompanied by a progressively more accurate body of surmises.

The veracity of rumors did not decline noticeably during transmittal. Errors in transmission were apparently well-compensated by selection. Commanders were known to remark that their line companies (usually distant from centers of emanation) "knew" more than they did about the probability of impending movements. Quite often, this was literally true.

Exaggeration and distortion took place in the course of transmission along a channel, and were most readily observable where numerical statements were involved. But, in general, the final form of a rumor was more condensed than its early forms, and the three-statement form tended to maintain itself. Most changes were toward simplification of statements rather than addition or subtraction. The rapidity of ordinary transmission is itself selective. A rumor is usually heard more than once, and usually transmitted more than once by each individual in the channel. This re-circulation tends to eliminate variation and if circumstances allow sufficient time, the final form of a rumor for a sizeable percentage of the group may be a statement in prescribed form with a high degree of consensus on every word.

Distortion in terms of wishes and avoidances seems to be an individual rather than a group characteristic. As channels solidified, this phenomenon became comparatively rare, because of the exclusion of persons associated with previous invalidity. When the channels were broken up, wish-fulfillment again became conspicuous in the pattern.

There was a positive and unmistakable relation between the survival of a rumor, in terms of both time and diffusion, and its veracity. No relation between the survival of a rumor, and its favorableness, was observed. The absence of this phenomenon may be related to the conventional and defensive pessimism of an army in the field.

The question of veracity can be seen more clearly as a part of a total situation than by considering rumors separately. Typically, an interest-situation was created by circumstances (e.g. the conclusion of one operation focussed interest on the next), a number of rumors then appeared and began to circulate, the number progressively decreasing and the average diffusion

increasing, until the interest-situation was terminated either by an official announcement or by the occurrence or non-occurrence of the rumored event. This sequence was relatively invariable for the category of greatest frequency (impending movements and operations) and tended to occur—with greater or lesser time periods—in many of the other categories.

There were long-range trends as well during the two-year period. The decreasing number and greater average diffusion toward the end of the period points both to a solidification of channels and a greater expertness in evaluating information. Increasing negative prestige was attached to the transmission of false rumors, and this was accompanied by a tendency to attach sources to doubtful statements. At least one rumor circulated among hundreds of men with the name of the original source attached. A validity estimate was almost always attached to a rumor, and many of them were communicated with a warning, such as, "I don't believe a word of this, but . . ." Increasing scepticism and objectivity led to the drawing of a sharp line between rumors and other information, so that rumors were usually labelled as such in the telling, and interestingly enough, official announcements were often doubted by men who had not seen them in written form. Neither the German surrender, nor the announcement of the point system, won general acceptance until a

considerable time after the first radio announcement.

CONCLUSIONS

The rumor process in the group observed was a fairly successful group device for circulating desired information. Rumors tended to diffuse along definite channels of person-to-person communication. The formation of channels decreased the number of rumors and increased their diffusion. The effect of transmission was to increase rather than decrease the validity of the statements.

The wide variation between these findings and the results of classroom experiments, implies no criticism of the latter. The rumor process described here was a rather complicated group activity extended over a considerable period of time, and accompanied by group interests stronger than any of those found in a classroom. The modes of communication involved were vastly more complicated than the simple chainwise transmission of the experimental situation. It should be noted that most of the tendencies toward distortion which were discovered in the classroom did exist in the theatre of operations, but that definite group devices developed to diminish their effect. The findings do illustrate, however, the difficulty of projecting generalizations about an interaction process from the laboratory to the field.

SUMMER INSTITUTE ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

The Third Summer Institute on the United States in World Affairs will be conducted by The American University in Washington, D. C., June 16 through July 25. Each of the earlier sessions, 1945 and 1946, brought more than one hundred teachers, from thirty different states, to hear lectures on contemporary national and world problems, to study methods and materials in the teaching of current history and to observe the federal government in operation.

The basic course, consisting of 60 lecture-discussion sessions, will focus attention upon important issues of national and international policy, with emphasis upon the interrelation of domestic and foreign developments and problems. Lectures will be given, and discussions will be conducted, by authorities in the fields covered, including government officials, university professors and journalists.

Teachers enrolled as members of the Institute may arrange to earn six semester hours of graduate credit, or they may enroll as auditors. Sessions will be held on the American University campus, where facilities are also available for housing Institute members. Visits will be made to Congress, embassies and legations, and government departments and agencies which deal with the several subjects included in the Institute program.

Teachers who wish to attend the Institute either as auditors or as students for graduate credit should write as soon as possible to: Walter E. Myer, Director, Institute on the United States in World Affairs, 1733 K Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

RANK OF THE STATES IN PROFESSIONAL LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL WELL-BEING

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AN ANALYSIS of the rank of the States in professional leadership and social well-being indicates the validity of three propositions. First, if we may judge from a leadership index based on the relative number of doctors, nurses, dentists, teachers on all educational levels, engineers, social workers, lawyers, and clergymen, the States vary greatly in professional leadership in the fields of health, education, technology, social work, law, and religion.¹ Second, this variation in professional leadership is highly correlated with the rank of the States in social well-being. Third, the factor of professional leadership is interactive with factors of education, industrialization, and attitudinal variations in American culture. And it would seem likely that all these variations would change together.

I. THE STATES VARY IN PROFESSIONAL LEADERSHIP

The first proposition is substantiated by statistical arrays based on data from the *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940* in its reports on *The Labor Force*.² These reports make it possible to determine the number of all professional men for the average 100,000 population of all ages and the number of workers in selected professions per 100,000 population.

Table 1 presents an index score for each State for each of the professions. This index score is determined by comparing the number of persons in a given profession per 100,000 population in a

¹ All professional men are here treated as leaders in their respective fields of action; that is, laymen look to these professional men as specialists.

² Vol. III, Parts 2, 3, 4, and 5.

given State with the number per 100,000 population in that profession in the entire Nation; or to obtain the ratio for all professions, the number of men in all professions in a given State is compared with the number in the Nation as a whole in the average 100,000 population.

For example, the number of professional men or persons in the average 100,000 population in the entire Nation is 2,710; in California, 3,750. The latter number is 138 percent of the former. The number of doctors for a like unit of population in the Nation is 126; in California, 146. The latter is 116 percent of the former. If we then take these percentages as index scores, 100 is the national index score for all professional men, for doctors, or for any other profession.³ In the State named, 138 is the all-professional score and 116 is the score for doctors. When we proceed with a like comparison, we find that California's score for nurses is 148, dentists 147, teachers on all levels 112, college professors 122, engineers 144, social workers 164, ministers 64, and lawyers 114. The scores for all States for these professions are shown in Table 1.

An inspection of Table 1 reveals the truth of our first proposition. Mississippi, for example, which stands at the bottom of the list with only 52 per-

³ In 1940 the ratio of professional persons per 100,000 population in the entire United States was as follows: doctors 126; nurses 282; dentists 54; teachers on all levels for persons 5-24 years of age, 2, 485; college professors, for youth 15-24 years old 317; engineers—total population—237; social workers 53; ministers 107; lawyers 135. The index score for each of these numbers in our Table is 100.

TABLE 1
INDEX OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF PROFESSIONAL MEN IN THE UNITED STATES BASED ON THE PERCENTAGE WHICH
THE NUMBER PER 100,000 IN EACH STATE IS OF THE NUMBER PER 100,000 FOR THE ENTIRE NATION FOR ALL
PROFESSIONS AND BY SELECTED PROFESSIONS IN 1940

STATE	ALL PRO- FESSIONS	DOCTORS	NURSES	DENTISTS	TEACH- ERS*	PROFES- SORS†	ENGI- NEERS	SOCIAL WORKERS	MINISTERS	LAWYERS
Cal.	138	116	148	147	112	122	144	164	64	114
N. Y.	136	146	147	142	105	104	126	206	77	188
N. J.	126	106	126	120	102	67	231	117	80	136
Mass.	125	128	181	122	144	146	122	134	87	126
Nev.	122	100	91	93	124	147	141	55	53	137
Conn.	120	114	163	118	107	110	143	126	85	76
Del.	116	99	123	73	93	79	290	108	108	67
Colo.	109	114	121	127	115	146	112	100	98	95
Ill.	108	116	106	141	100	99	129	104	87	124
Oreg.	108	100	119	143	117	153	89	72	103	107
Md.	106	128	127	82	83	124	129	100	107	143
Wash.	105	95	118	135	108	137	109	106	92	98
R. I.	102	102	120	98	99	95	100	143	75	76
Nebr.	101	95	79	130	142	133	50	74	136	99
Mont.	100	75	110	76	122	93	90	66	110	87
U. S.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Minn.	98	98	124	139	107	118	63	111	112	80
Ariz.	98	83	111	57	94	103	109	81	73	84
Kans.	98	88	80	105	140	173	57	79	138	83
Wyo.	97	71	75	92	130	89	90	55	79	79
Ohio	97	102	97	102	90	100	132	109	92	99
N. H.	97	90	151	89	118	214	69	87	103	59
S. D.	96	63	73	88	154	123	33	49	148	72
Mich.	95	92	96	94	88	86	122	100	73	75
Vt.	95	100	130	79	159	173	49	45	106	69
Utah	95	79	87	103	99	158	113	96	24	83
Pa.	94	106	106	112	89	83	109	113	98	63
Wis.	94	86	93	127	107	111	84	85	103	79
Iowa	94	88	78	113	135	139	45	62	126	82
Fla.	91	86	93	70	94	65	53	74	125	106
Mo.	90	105	78	114	99	99	75	77	105	105
Me.	90	84	112	83	95	94	48	72	93	68
Ind.	86	90	76	98	96	115	86	92	108	83
N. D.	86	64	86	76	126	116	20	62	130	62
Ida.	86	63	75	76	107	111	63	45	82	73
Okla.	84	76	49	59	102	101	64	64	116	105
Texas	83	77	65	58	90	89	68	45	105	89
N. M.	82	64	237	39	96	93	67	47	88	55
Va.	79	78	77	58	77	102	59	60	98	82
W. Va.	70	70	59	58	89	62	65	62	79	56
La.	70	79	65	62	73	91	59	85	94	59
Tenn.	67	74	58	54	72	76	62	55	97	67
Ga.	64	65	53	49	78	69	39	45	113	64
S. C.	62	57	58	34	71	65	30	43	107	46
N. C.	62	57	64	41	76	85	28	43	97	50
Ky.	61	70	48	52	65	62	38	59	93	68
Ala.	55	52	42	40	72	62	38	34	88	43
Ark.	54	68	35	36	67	57	25	29	113	59
Miss.	52	48	34	35	69	76	33	25	94	45

* Index based on the number of teachers and professors per 100,000 population 5-24 years of age.

† Based on number of professors per 100,000 population 15-24 years of age.

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cent of the national average for all professions, ranges all the way from 25 percent of the Nation's average for social workers to 94 percent for clergymen, while California, which leads the Nation in all professional men with an index of 138, as we have seen, covers a range extending from a score of only 64 for ministers to 164 for social workers. Nine of the Southern States have a score of 70 or less, while four Northern and two Western States rise above a score of 120.

II. PROFESSIONAL LEADERSHIP CORRELATED WITH SOCIAL WELL-BEING

The second proposition, that professional leadership is highly correlated with social well-being, is supported by a comparison of indices for the former and the latter.

The index of social well-being herein compared with the professional index is based on too many factors to be presented in full analysis here; but it rests on an average of scores for economic welfare, education, living conditions, voting, and general goodness of health, as outlined below; and each of the major factors to be outlined is represented by an index that constitutes an average of scores for the sub-factors that make it up.

The index of economic welfare is the average of the scores for four factors: per capita income (1942-1944), median wage and salary income (1939), the proportion of the Nation's income going to the States (1939) as compared with their proportion of the Nation's population, and the internal distribution of the income of the States to their respective populations in the same year.⁴

The index of education involves seven factors: the per capita appropriations for schools, including the total population, teachers' salaries, duration of the school year, the proportion of children of school age in attendance, average attendance, the proportion of persons over 25 years of age who have gone beyond the fourth grade, and children on the high school level.⁵

Four factors enter into the index of living conditions or housing: freedom from overcrowding or its opposite, the presence or absence of bathtubs, sewerage or the lack of it, and needs for major

repairs.⁶ Two phases of suffrage make up the voting index: the comparative number of votes cast by those of voting age and the comparative number of popular ballots needed in 1940 to cast one electoral vote in the various States.⁷

The general goodness of health was evaluated by an average of scores representative of infant mortality rates (1940-1942), maternal mortality, mortality rates for children 1-4, for children 5-14, for youth 15-24, deaths from several causes combined: tuberculosis, diarrhea, infectious and contagious diseases, and draft rejections from February through August 1943.⁸ All rates, unless otherwise stated, are from the Census of 1940.⁹

Each series of scores constituting an index of a given condition from State to State is based, as in Table 1, on a score of 100 for that condition in the entire United States. New Jersey, which shares first place in social well-being, with Connecticut 2 points ahead of New York, has an economic index of 131, a score of 253 in housing, suffrage 129, education 117, and health 128. The mean score of 152 is thus taken as an index of her social well-being.¹⁰

The rank of the States in social well-being, based on the average of the index scores for economic

SERIES	CORRELATION WITH SOCIAL WELL-BEING
Education	+ .95
All professions	+ .85
Doctors	+ .80
Social workers	+ .78
Dentists	+ .75
Nurses	+ .62
Engineers	+ .59
Lawyers	+ .59
Teachers	+ .53
Professors	+ .44
Ministers	- .34

⁴ *Housing*, Vol. II, *Sixteenth Census: 1940*.

⁵ *Statistical Abstract: 1943*, Tables 247, 248.

⁶ See *Medical Statistics Bulletin* of the Selective Service, No. 3. Cf. Gerhard Hirschfeld and Carl W. Strow, "Comparative Health Factors Among the States," *American Sociological Review*, XI (1946), 42-52.

⁷ For basic data, see *Statistical Abstract: 1943*, pp. 75-81 and *Vital Statistics*, Part II of the *Sixteenth Census: 1940*.

¹⁰ The author discovered that the use of the geometric mean throughout would make no material difference in the correlation scores obtained.

⁴ See *Survey of Current Business*, XXV (1945), 13; *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1943*, Tables 268 and 246 as basic data.

⁵ For basic data see *Statistical Abstract: 1943*, pp. 204-215.

welfare, housing, voting, education, and health is given in Table 2. Correlation coefficients for various series are here given to facilitate comparison with the series for social well-being.

The surprising thing is the lack of positive correlation between the index for ministers and social well-being. Perhaps the ministry is the least professionalized of the leaders represented. Perhaps the church, while serving as a factor in the individual adjustment of a large majority of its members, gives too little heed to the social conditions under which the whole population seeks adjustment. The author has spent hundreds of hours examining the rank of the States in institutional religion, as represented by the number of ministers, churches, and members over thirteen years of age per 100,000 population, with their rank in social well-being. Here the coefficient of correlation sinks to $-.64$. It remains negative when we include per capita expenditures for religion in the composite score, but it does rise to $-.23$.¹¹ The author is an ardent churchman, but he has found no way to rationalize these discrepancies.

III. LEADERSHIP INTERACTIVE WITH EDUCATION AND INDUSTRIALIZATION

The third proposition, that professional leadership is interactive with factors of education and industrialization in social well-being finds support in Table 3, which compares the States by an educational index and throws in high relief the place of technology as represented by engineering, including chemistry, and manufacturing as related to education, general professional leadership, and social well-being. As we have seen there is a correlation of $+.95$ between education and social well-being, and of $+.85$ between general professional leadership and the latter. The correlation between the educational index and the

¹¹ See my article, "The Church and Social Well-Being," in *Sociology and Social Research*, XXXI (1947), 213-219. Rural-urban differences account in part for the negative scores representing the church and its ministry, just as in the lower scores for teachers on all levels and for college professors in particular. But neither rural-urban differences nor the presence of the Negro in the South absolve the church. The data employed are from the *Census of Religious Bodies: 1936 (Religious Bodies 1936)*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941) and from the sources outlined above for social well-being.

composite score for the professions designated in Table 1 is $+.87$; and between engineering and social well-being, $+.59$.

There is also a positive relationship between the proportion of workers engaged in manufacturing and social welfare. But equally striking are the pairings of States with equal proportions of workers employed in manufacturing with highly disparate scores for social well-being. It is going to take more than an urge toward industrialization to bring the South up with the rest of the Nation, as can be seen in Table 3.

To get the full effect of our contention that the South is going to need much more than an urge toward industrialization to catch up with the rest of the Nation in the status of her social and economic welfare, select from Table 3 these States with equal proportions of workers employed in manufacturing, but with highly disparate scores in social well-being. Put Indiana and Virginia, New York and North Carolina, California and Alabama, Kansas and Mississippi, Nebraska (30 and 102), Texas (43 and 71), and Nevada (22 and 120) side by side.

As has been suggested, this argument "would be changed if manufacturing were measured on a wage basis rather than on the basis of workers employed."¹² But this fact exactly brings out the point—the South wants to industrialize on the basis of cheap labor; and it is trying to do it with low skills and inadequate leadership. It cannot do it this way and lift its people.

To catch up with the rest of the Nation, the South will need a higher general technological index, as can be seen by her status in engineering. But it will also need to change those cultural patterns which keep so large a part of its population depressed and at the same time furnish the traditional rationalizations of this depression. It will need to pay its workers wages high enough that goods processed in the South can be sold in the South. It will need to raise its educational level greatly in order to prepare its youth for leadership, both business and professional—the leadership with which comes the "know-how" of social and economic organization. It will need skilled workers, secure, self-reliant, and self-respecting, in much greater numbers in the mill, in the factory, in the shop, and on the land. It will have to train these workers without respect to traditional dis-

¹² In a letter to the author from the editors.

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N. M
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Va.
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La.
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S. C
Miss

TABLE 2

RANK OF THE STATES IN SOCIAL WELL-BEING, BASED ON THE AVERAGE OF THE INDEX SCORES FOR ECONOMIC WELFARE, HOUSING, VOTING OPPORTUNITIES, EDUCATION, AND HEALTH

STATE	RANK	SOCIAL WELL-BEING	ECONOMIC INDEX	HOUSING INDEX	SUFFRAGE INDEX	EDUCATIONAL INDEX	HEALTH
N. J.	1-2	152	131	253	129	117	128
Conn.	1-2	152	137	251	116	111	145
N. Y.	3	150	130	238	135	121	127
Cal.	4	145	135	218	139	121	111
Mass.	5	141	125	209	129	112	131
R. I.	6	138	109	254	84	105	138
Ill.	7	127	124	136	145	108	123
Mich.	8	124	131	149	112	107	123
Wash.	10	120	140	112	107	111	115
Ohio	10	120	119	143	130	108	109
Nev.	10	120	142	95	173	107	84
Wis.	12	119	106	132	124	103	128
Pa.	13	118	107	141	119	108	113
Del.	14-15	115	123	154	90	105	101
Ind.	14-15	115	102	108	135	103	128
Minn.	16-17	113	97	109	120	102	135
Oregon	16-17	113	114	124	102	98	129
Iowa	19	109	89	112	121	101	123
Md.	19	109	112	141	91	100	102
N. H.	19	109	86	151	98	99	119
Kans.	21-22	102	85	91	113	100	123
Nebr.	21-22	102	72	98	109	100	129
U. S.		100	100	100	100	100	100
Utah	23-24	99	103	94	65	110	121
Vt.	23-24	99	83	160	51	93	109
Colo.	25-26	96	96	79	119	103	84
Me.	25-26	96	82	108	88	95	105
Mo.	27	95	83	83	126	99	96
Mont.	28	94	104	70	93	103	102
W. Va.	29	92	87	63	120	94	95
Ida.	30-31	91	88	65	95	101	108
N. D.	30-31	91	71	51	103	92	138
Wyo.	32	86	104	70	40	106	112
S. D.	33	85	74	66	81	99	117
Ariz.	34-35	79	92	79	74	93	58
Fla.	34-35	79	68	89	71	87	79
Okla.	36	78	70	55	80	93	91
Ky.	37	74	64	53	96	74	83
N. M.	38	73	69	52	88	89	66
Tex.	39	71	71	67	52	91	76
N. C.	40	70	57	52	70	86	83
Va.	41	68	73	70	33	86	79
Tenn.	42	64	65	52	50	83	79
La.	43	63	58	61	41	85	72
Ga.	44	57	51	52	29	77	77
Ark.	45	56	42	56	28	73	81
Ala.	46	54	51	44	31	73	73
S. C.	47	52	49	54	13	75	68
Miss.	48	49	38	41	23	68	73

TABLE 3
THE EDUCATIONAL INDEX BY STATES COMPARED WITH INDICES OF SELECTED PROFESSIONS, ENGINEERING,
MANUFACTURING, AND SOCIAL WELL-BEING IN 1940

STATE	EDUCATIONAL INDEX	SELECTED PROFESSIONS*	ENGINEERING INDEX	MANUFACTURING INDEX†	SOCIAL WELL-BEING
N. Y.	121	138	126	117	150
Cal.	121	126	144	74	145
N. J.	117	126	231	157	152
Mass.	112	127	122	161	141
Conn.	111	116	143	187	152
Wash.	111	101	109	96	120
Utah	110	94	113	48	99
Ill.	108	113	129	126	127
Pa.	108	97	109	143	118
Ohio	108	103	132	148	120
Mich.	107	92	122	165	124
Nev.	107	105	141	22	120
Wyo.	106	95	90	22	86
Del.	105	114	290	126	115
R. I.	105	101	100	200	138
Wis.	103	97	84	109	119
Ind.	103	94	86	135	115
Colo.	103	113	112	43	96
Mont.	103	92	90	30	94
Minn.	102	106	63	52	113
Iowa	101	95	84	48	109
Ida.	101	80	63	33	91
Kans.	100	105	57	39	102
Md.	100	114	129	174	109
Nebr.	100	104	50	30	102
U. S.	100	100	100	100	100
N. H.	99	109	69	170	109
Mo.	99	95	75	83	95
S. D.	99	89	33	22	85
Oreg.	98	112	89	91	113
Me.	95	83	48	143	96
W. Va.	94	66	65	100	92
Vt.	93	110	49	148	99
Okla.	93	82	64	33	78
Ariz.	93	88	109	30	79
N. D.	92	82	20	13	91
Tex.	91	76	68	43	71
N. M.	89	87	67	26	73
Fla.	87	85	53	52	79
N. C.	86	60	28	117	70
Va.	86	77	59	135	68
La.	85	74	59	57	63
Tenn.	83	68	62	78	64
Ga.	77	64	39	83	57
S. C.	75	53	30	100	52
Ky.	74	64	38	52	74
Ark.	73	53	25	43	56
Ala.	73	52	38	74	54
Miss.	68	51	33	39	49

* A composite score of the indices for the professions named specifically in Table 1.

† Based on number of workers employed.

criminations on whatever basis. The only way it can get them is by raising the level of education and training. And this is the only way it will get more adequate leaders.

There remains a great question: How can the South accomplish this result without encouraging the rest of the nation to join in a program of federal aid to education which will equalize opportunities for all of America's children, so that industrial and financial centers that have heretofore prospered, as some Southerners say, "by conspiring to keep the Southern States as plantation colonies" will be called upon to return a portion of their wealth to the areas of its origin for the benefit of all, not the few?

IV. SUMMARY

Our data seem to support the propositions with which we started. First, the States vary greatly in professional leadership. Second, professional leadership with the exception of the ministry is highly correlated with the rank of the States in social well-being. Third, the factor of professional leadership is interactive with factors of education, industrialization, and ideological and attitudinal variations in American culture. Lastly, these variables have a tendency to change together but not at the same rate, as can be seen by changes in the degree of industrialization in the South without a corresponding change up to now in professional leadership and education. Some States badly need professional leadership; but the only way to get it is through education.

MARRIAGE GUIDANCE IN ENGLAND: A NEW SOCIAL SERVICE

DAVID R. MACE

Marriage Guidance Council, London, England

THE purpose of this article is to draw attention to a new departure in the field of social service in this country. The Americans have had their marriage counseling services for some time now. A few continental countries before the war organized advisory bureaus where marital problems could be discussed. But here in Britain, what little has been done in the past to deal with marriage troubles has been in the main confined to probation officers, in the matrimonial side of their work at the courts.

It is easy enough to explain this. Marriage, as Lord Horder once expressed it, has been regarded in this country as an institution so well established that it could be taken for granted. To suggest that men and women might require help about their most intimate relationships would, a few years ago, have been considered gross impertinence; and any earlier attempt to set up a Marriage Guidance Council would probably have been deeply resented and brought speedily to naught.

Today all is changed. Even before the war the need to offer people help about marriage was beginning to be realized. The war years rapidly made it obvious and urgent. All lingering doubts have now been finally swept away by the

spectacle of the soaring marriage breakdown rate.

In one way, therefore, it is regrettable that this work should have proved necessary, for it is an index of the appalling disintegration of family life which has befallen us. Yet in another way it is just as well that we have been forced to act in this matter; because it has enabled us at last to get to grips with the real cause of so many of the problems which the social worker has been having to deal with for a long time.

Many researches have shown us to what an extent the ill-adjusted personality is the product of the disorderly home. We are well aware that very many of our problem people come from problem families. True, we have done a good deal to try to improve those families. But it has had to be done for the most part from the outside, by attempting to put them into better environments, and so forth. Seldom have we been able to get at the real heart of the family—the marriage relationship. It is bad marriage which is supremely the cause of bad family life. And while the relationship between husband and wife remained beyond the reach of the skilled and sympathetic helper, the basic operation which was needed to restore the health of the family could not be performed.

Now this obstacle has gone down. The reaction from complacent toleration of the bad marriage has been violent in the extreme. In these days the marriage which is not proving successful tends to be carried straight to the mortuary which the divorce court provides, and in due course to be given an unceremonious burial. Insofar as this reflects a refusal to tolerate an unsatisfactory relationship between husband and wife, it may be interpreted as a gesture in the right direction. But it is a wildly extravagant and irresponsible gesture. For the social worker, it brings greater perplexities than ever before. The wholesale dissolution of apparently unsatisfactory marriages solves people's problems even less effectively than did the refusal to acknowledge their existence.

What is now needed is obviously a compromise between the two extremes. A few thoroughly bad marriages have no doubt been ended in the divorce court in the best interests of all concerned. But with them thousands of potentially good marriages have been swept away without being given a fair chance. It is madness to rush the sick straight to the mortuary. The obviously intelligent solution is to provide an efficient hospital service which will give to every marriage in trouble the best possible chance of recovery.

The need for this service is now becoming widely recognized. Indeed, most social workers are finding themselves, whether they like it or not, faced with the task of dealing with marital disharmony. Some of them have handled this delicate task with commendable skill and insight. But even the best of these have been only too ready to acknowledge that it was work for which they had received no special instruction or training. Moreover, they have come to see that it is work of such complexity that ultimately it calls for the provision of a new type of worker specially trained as a marriage adviser, with expert consultants available to take over where more technical difficulties arise.

It is precisely this service which the marriage guidance movement seeks to provide. We believe that the time will come when *every* social worker will receive basic training in marriage guidance, as part of his essential equipment for his task. But, in addition, we take the view that a special service must also be organized to fill a disturbing gap in the otherwise admirable provision we make for the treatment of personal and social disorder.

For about four years the London Marriage

Guidance Centre has been at work in this field, seeking to lay down a sound pattern based on practical experience. Something in the region of four thousand cases have been dealt with. In the past two years, several provincial centres have been set up, modelled on the London one, but adapting themselves to their own local needs and conditions. The whole movement is as yet only in an early stage of development; but much is being learned, and the shape of something like a workable plan is beginning to emerge.

Those who serve a Marriage Guidance Centre fall into two groups. The marriage counsellor (here we have adopted the American term) need not possess specialist qualifications, but should have the right personal gifts for dealing wisely and sympathetically with the intimate personal difficulties of married people. Those selected for this work should normally be at least 25 years of age, and preferably 30. They should also themselves, in all but exceptional cases, be happily married. Most of those at present serving in this capacity are voluntary part-time workers; but it is expected that, as funds become available, an increasing number of full-time paid counsellors will be required.

These counsellors, after being approved by selection boards, must be given special training for their work. A sympathetic disposition and a fund of "common sense" are not enough. Some marital conflicts arise from complex and deep-seated origins, and failure to make an accurate diagnosis may lead to incompetent handling which can have disastrous consequences. There will be many cases with which the marriage counsellor can deal unaided; but he must be able to recognize at once a situation which is beyond his competence and which must therefore be passed on to a consultant with specialist knowledge and skill.

The provision of a suitable course of training is not an easy task. In the early days we had to cover as much ground as possible in a series of three-day residential courses. But that obviously cannot be called a training. A fuller syllabus has been worked out, embodying a course of some fifty lectures, and it has been found possible to arrange for this course to be given to a group in London. The training of those in the provinces is not so easy, and all we can do is to hope that, at the earliest possible future date, all counsellors working under the aegis of registered Marriage Guidance Councils will have

covered this course and therefore possess a minimum standard of competence below which we do not wish our work to be allowed to fall.

In addition to these counsellors, the Marriage Guidance Centre will require the services of a panel of consultants. These need not possess the same wide *general* knowledge as the counsellors; but they should have professional qualifications within their own respective fields. We have found from experience that, in order to offer a complete marriage guidance service, the panel should include consultants in five fields: (1) medical; (2) psychological; (3) ethical and spiritual; (4) social; (5) legal.

In fairly large towns and cities, the provision of a special centre has proved effective in practice. The counsellors give regular sessions at the centre, and see by appointment people of the type whom they are most likely to be able to help. The centre is best situated in neutral premises, unobtrusive, and equipped with a waiting room and a room for interviews, with an office in addition where possible. It is our rule always to see the husband and wife separately in the first instance, and to give no final verdict unless or until both have been interviewed. Careful records of all interviews, which are treated as strictly confidential, are kept in a locked filing cabinet. They are accessible only to the staff of the centre and may not be taken off the premises.

No fees are charged, but contributions are invited towards the running costs of the centre. This is seldom sufficient to meet the expenses incurred, and the balance is provided by contributions from those interested.

The actual work of the centre is carried on as quietly and unobtrusively as possible. It is under the oversight of the local Marriage Guidance Council, which is concerned with educational and other activities as well as this remedial service. It is our custom not to make public the names of those who serve the centre either as counsellors or consultants. Their bona fides is assured by the fact that their work is directed by the officers and committee of the Council, who consist of people of unquestioned standing and repute in the locality. Some of those who work at the centre may serve on this committee; but it is never advisable that it should consist exclusively of counsellors and consultants. It is our rule that every local Council must undertake educational as well as remedial work, and this

generally ensures that among the officers and committee members are some who will have no direct personal association with the centre and can therefore act as independent critics of its work.

It is not usually found necessary to advertise the centre. Those likely to encounter marriage problems in the course of their professional duties will be only too glad, if they have confidence in its work, to refer people to it for help. In addition, some publicity is usually given to the starting of the centre through the local press, and that will inform the public of its existence. Thereafter, the only advertisement the centre should need is the commendation of those who know the value of its work at first hand.

While all this will work smoothly and satisfactorily in the town of reasonable size, difficulties arise when it is proposed to apply the pattern to smaller communities. First, there is usually a dearth of certain types of consultant—particularly psychologists. In addition, it is not easy to preserve the same degree of privacy because people might be recognized while visiting the centre.

The first difficulty is met by some kind of regional grouping, so that consultants are shared by several small communities. Where a large town is within reasonable reach, it is best to use the facilities provided by a centre there. People who live in small communities are generally very ready to go elsewhere for help about private and personal difficulties. Indeed, it is not unusual to find people who prefer to go to a marriage guidance centre in a neighbouring town even when there is one in their own.

Where this is impossible, the only workable plan is to secure counsellors and consultants as in a larger place, but to arrange for them to work privately in their own homes and offices. It is made known that those seeking help may write in confidence to a given address. They are then advised by post of the time and place of the appointment which has been made for them. Thus complete privacy is assured. In these circumstances one of the counsellors will have to act as confidential secretary to the group, arranging the appointments and keeping the records.

So far I have described only the remedial side of this work. All our experience, however, tends to show that in the future the emphasis must be preventive. The chances of success in dealing

with marriage troubles are found to depend very much on the stage at which the conflict is put into competent hands. The earlier marital disharmony is dealt with, the greater is the prospect of resolving it. The implication is obvious. The best point at which to begin is before conflict has arisen at all.

This means preparation for marriage. It has become increasingly clear to us that this is the real solution to our present marriage problems. The maladjustments we have had to deal with have proved again and again to have had their origin in unsound mental and emotional attitudes developed before marriage. And where we have been able to offer adequate marriage preparation, we have found that the couples in question have been saved from the disasters which befell those not so prepared.

It is our hope and expectation, therefore, that in the future the marriage guidance centre will have to deal less and less with marital maladjustments in an advanced stage, and more and more

with the instruction and preparation of engaged couples who are on the threshold of marriage. This approach serves a double purpose. It ensures that the couple go into marriage with sound knowledge and right attitudes. It also makes them aware of the service which the centre can offer should they encounter serious difficulties later on. In such an event, it will be natural for them to come back for help when the trouble is still easily curable, and long before it has become chronic. We have already had encouraging evidence of this in several instances.

That, in brief outline, is the plan and purpose of marriage guidance. When properly provided, this service should lessen the burdens now falling upon the social worker, by attacking many of our personal and social problems at their very source. We cannot have a healthy social life unless it is rooted in a healthy family life. And the best way to secure sound family life is to do everything possible to ensure secure and stable marriages.

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND EMPIRE HEALTH AND TUBERCULOSIS CONFERENCE, 1947

A Conference on Tuberculosis, arranged by the National Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis of Great Britain, will be held in London from July 8 to 10 inclusive. There will be special reference to the problem as affecting the British Commonwealth, and representatives from all the Dominions and Colonies have been invited, but the Conference will deal with tuberculosis in all its aspects, and it is hoped to welcome many visitors from other countries.

The Rt. Hon. Aneurin Bevan M.P., Minister of Health, has promised to attend on the first day of the meeting, and to speak on the subject of Tuberculosis and the National Health Service Act.

The sessions will include discussions on tuberculosis in the British Commonwealth and the Colonial Tuberculosis Services; Sanatorium design; after-care and rehabilitation; the psychology of tuberculosis; new discoveries in the prevention and treatment of the disease, and the National Health Service and its effect on tuberculosis schemes.

Plans are being made for overseas guests to see something of the anti-tuberculosis work for which Great Britain is famous, and will include visits to sanatoria, hospitals and clinics, and demonstrations of various kinds. The Conference is open to both doctors and laymen, from this country and from overseas, and fuller particulars can be obtained from the Secretary-General, National Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis, Tavistock House North, Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1.



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COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress, in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

A PLAN FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

F. STUART CHAPIN, JR.

Tennessee Valley Authority

ONE of the encouraging trends emerging from the postwar flurry of planning activity is the increasing citizen interest in problems of community planning and development. Although the roots of this interest go back into the prewar period, it appears to have developed its major momentum during the war. In some cities interest has developed spontaneously and unassisted; in others it is the fruition of a continuing and persistent educational program carried on by the community leaders and city planners.

Regardless of the origin, the significance of this trend is in the opportunity it provides for broadening citizen participation in planning—one of the most important tools we have for securing planned community development. More than ever before, this and other educational devices should occupy a major place in city planning programs. For an illustration of the price paid for neglecting these aspects of the planning program, we have only to look about us at some of the misguided developments taking place in the outskirts of many of our communities. Here in these areas of growth and expansion unleashed by the return of men, materials, and machinery to peacetime pursuits we see some sharp reminders of a tardy concern over citizen education.

To determine how citizen participation may be made an effective device for advancing planned community development we must interpolate from principles developed in other fields—chiefly in the fields of sociology and psychology. Experience to date in the adaptation of these principles to the field of urban planning is still too limited to yield any clearly defined procedure.

The very elementary concepts developed in the following pages, concerned primarily with the small city, must therefore be treated as tentative and experimental. It is hoped that when studies now being conducted in several communities in the Tennessee Valley area reach a more advanced stage, they will shed more light on the problem.

THE SETTING AND THE CITIZENS' ROLE

An initial consideration in examining the citizens' role in community development is one of establishing a close relation between citizen and specialist, one of setting the stage for a collaborative approach to community development. It should be noted that "collaborative approach to community development" is used in place of "building up citizen support to planning." There is a reason for making this distinction. Very often in references to John Q. Citizen in the literature of the planning field there is a tendency to convey the impression that John Q. is a kind of confused and inarticulate character out of a Steig cartoon who needs help and guidance, an individual to be influenced for his own good and to be led by the hand—all in the interests of expediting plans.

It is submitted that there is another approach. In place of starting with the planning program for the community and identifying ways in which the citizen can be introduced into the picture, it is proposed to start with the citizen's horizon of interests and identify ways and means of securing the kind of community development and improvements he wants and needs. In

other words it is proposed that we view the citizen as being capable of appreciating values of planned development and of assuming a positive and responsible role in improving his environment.

This approach enables the citizen to form his own perspective of the broader field. It enables him to discover the shortcomings in the city for himself and to organize his own efforts so that when he is faced with a lull, for example, in activities contributing to physical planning, he can switch his energies to other activities concerned with community well-being—welfare problems, good government, etc. This approach thus attempts to cultivate citizen self-sufficiency and responsibility as a means of strengthening interest and stimulating participation. It is believed

continuing program of social, economic, and physical improvements for the well-being of the community.

Such a definition implies that community development is a collaborative enterprise of public officials, private interests, and citizens. In turn it implies that considerable coordination is required not only among these three general groupings in the community but also among the groups within each grouping (see Figures 1 and 2). Officials of the various departments, boards and other arms of local government, and most particularly those of the official planning commission, are perhaps the most obvious participants. They represent agencies which plan, build, and operate streets, water systems, parks

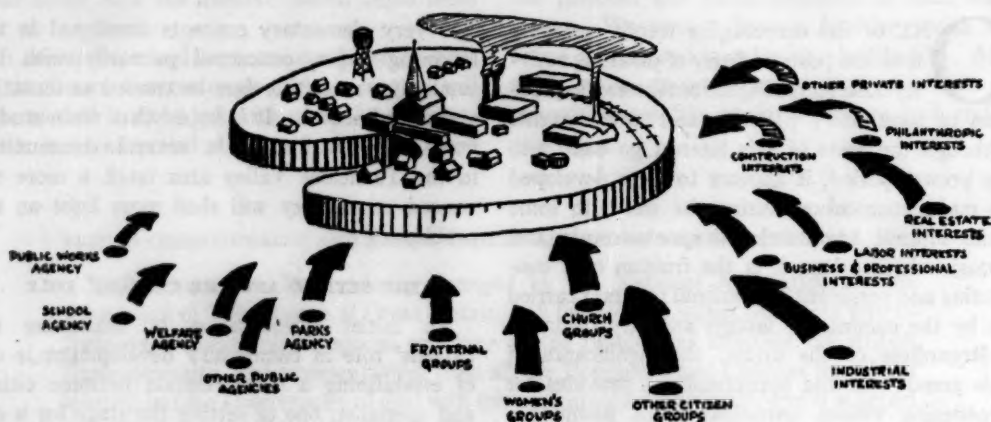


FIG. 1. UNORGANIZED COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

that interest and participation will be more active and spontaneous and that, in the long run, not only will planning be given a boost but the whole community development process will be greatly facilitated.

Perhaps it will be said that this is just another way of using citizens for the same ends. On the contrary it is rather a proposition of citizens influencing citizens, citizens leading citizens—all in the interests of the larger objectives of community development.

The meaning of community development perhaps requires definition. Usage of the term in this paper is in the generic sense descriptive of steps a community collectively takes toward achieving a more liveable, prosperous, healthy, and efficient environment for its people. Stated another way, it is the over-all process of *organizing, planning, and putting into effect* a broad and

and the other service auxiliaries of the community provide health and welfare services, education and so on. Yet the chamber of commerce, the real estate board, the council of social agencies, and various other organizations of the city—the organized private interests—also have a part in the community development. These groups represent business men, industrialists and others who sell land and buildings, subdivide property, build homes, stores or factories; they represent eleemosynary and social welfare interests; and so on.

The thesis of this paper is one of defining the role of citizens, the third grouping in this collaborative enterprise. Such an approach presumes that in order to have some means of formulating their interests and becoming an effective force in this enterprise, (1) citizens must organize in some form of an association, and (2) the citizens'

organization must develop a fairly specific program to guide its activities.

CITIZENS' ORGANIZATION AND ITS NATURE

Let us briefly consider why the citizens' organization has a claim to being a participant in this enterprise. The stake which the unorganized citizenry has in community development is sometimes passed off as being adequately protected through the competitive forces of private enterprise and the restrictive provisions of local government. For example, as a consumer, John Q. can exercise choice and thus exert an influence on private interests to develop attractive and well-designed neighborhoods. As a constituent he can demand

organizing, outlining, and promoting a program for community development.

If we then accept the proposition that the citizens' organization has a very real role in the community development process, let us consider briefly the kind of organization most suited to carrying out this role.

Of necessity an organization fitted to the needs of one community will not fulfill those of another. There is too great a variation in conditions and problems existing from one community to the next. While it would thus be impractical to prescribe one specific kind of organization, it is possible to indicate some of the characteristics which such a group should possess. Whatever the organi-

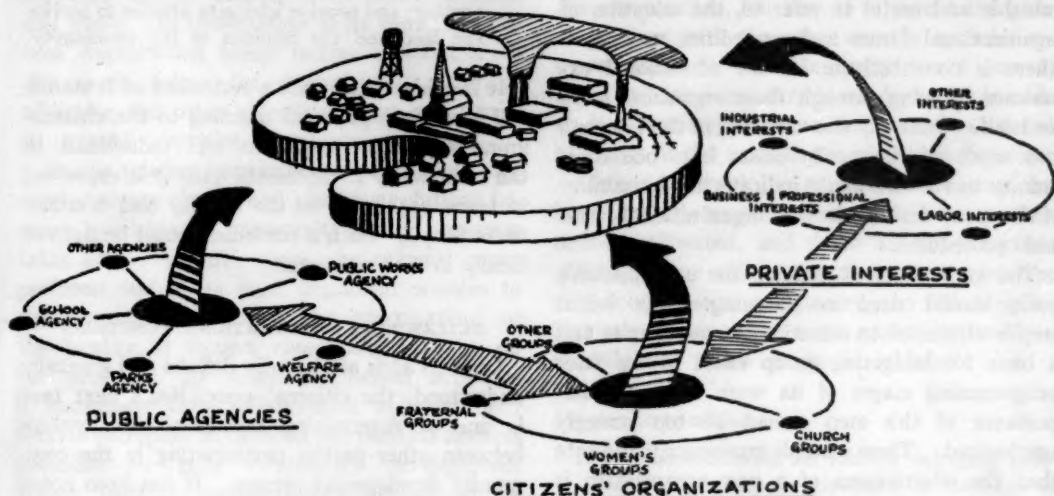


FIG. 2. COORDINATED COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

zoning and subdivision control. The combined effect of these measures unquestionably provides some protection to the citizens' interests. Similar examples with similar reasoning might be cited regarding his role in social and in economic development of the community. Yet this reasoning covers only half of the picture. Thus conceived, the citizens' role is a passive and negative one, and they are nothing more than bystanders making assenting or dissenting nods from the community's armchairs. What is not fully appreciated is the proposition that citizens have a very active and positive part to take in community development, and, in order to take this part and to be an effective force in the community, they must be organized. In fact, experience suggests that very often citizens' groups must take the initiative and leadership in

zation—whether it is a citizens' planning committee, a community council, a civic coordinating committee or a community development association—it should be a group which ultimately is: (1) representative of all civic organizations and individuals in the locality concerned with the well-being of the community; (2) broad, comprehensive, and impartial in its purposes and policies; (3) voluntary, non-official, and non-partisan; and (4) permanent, self-sustaining, and self-supporting.

Whether an existing organization in the community can be broadened and strengthened to fill these qualifications, or whether a new organization should be created will depend upon the organizational structure, leadership, community attitudes, and other local circumstances. The proper candidate for the job can be determined

only after careful study of the community's social structure.¹

DEFINING GROUP OBJECTIVES

In forming a new citizens' association or in reorganizing an existing citizens' group, it is most important that the organizational structure be carefully designed to fit into the local social scene. This involves three successive steps: (1) defining the group's goals, (2) determining its functions, and (3) developing a plan for the operation of the organization. These are all very important steps in which all the group should take a part. Although the experience of citizens' organizations in other cities will be valuable and useful to refer to, the adoption of organizational forms and procedures used elsewhere is no substitute for the educational experience of going through these organizing steps for itself. Certainly the variation in the interests and needs which usually exists from one community to another would indicate the desirability of the group deriving its own organizational forms and procedures.

The importance of defining the organization's goals should need no laboring. This initial step is elemental to orienting group energies and a basis for budgeting group effort in the later programming stages of its work. Yet the importance of this step cannot be too strongly emphasized. There is ample experience to indicate that the effectiveness of a new organization is directly dependent upon its ability to define its objectives in terms fairly specific and meaningful to the people of the community.

What are some goals of planned community development? The National Resources Planning Board dug into this question in connection with some pioneering test demonstrations in community planning it conducted in the early war months.² Borrowing from NRPB and subsequent adaptations in various other works, the following general statement of goals offers a starting point suggestive of the various aspects of community development a citizens' organization will want to consider in defining its own goals:

¹ For a more complete discussion, see "Citizens' Organizations for Planning in Small Cities," by Miriam Strong, *Civic and Planning Comment* (July 1946).

² See *Action for Cities, A Guide for Community Planning*, Public Administration Service, Bulletin No. 86 (Chicago, 1943).

1. *Economic development*: Bring about a high level of employment, a high level of production and trade, and a high level of consumer income; and work toward a sound and stable economic base in the community.
2. *Social development*: Provide adequately for well-rounded child, adult, family and group development; and encourage the provision of services and opportunities conducive to social stability in the community.
3. *Physical development*: Bring about a safe, healthy, attractive and convenient arrangement of places in which the people of the community live, work, and enjoy their leisure time; provide adequate facilities for recreational, educational, cultural, and economic development; develop efficient and safe means of moving about from one place to another; and provide adequate utilities to service the land and the facilities of the community.

It is evident that such a statement as it stands will have little practical meaning to the citizens' group or the organizations and individuals in the community it represents until it is expressed in terms applicable to the locality and familiar to its people. Such a refinement must be derived locally in each community.

DETERMINING ORGANIZATIONS' FUNCTIONS

Once its aims are broadly defined and generally understood, the citizens' association's next task is one of determining functional relationships between other parties participating in the community development process. It has been noted that these parties are the public agencies and the organized private interests of the community.

In general, the citizens' group identifies needs and problems arising out of citizen experience and brings them to the attention of the proper existing agency for study and action. It serves in a go-between capacity and as a synthesizing influence between citizen and specialist in reaching decisions affecting the welfare of the community. Where no appropriate handling agency exists, it pushes for the formation of a planning commission, a health department, a council of social agencies, or other official or private agency according to the need. Where progress in community development is hampered by scattered, unrelated or duplicating activities, the citizens' group may serve as a coordinating influence in the course of exercising its liaison functions.

Fundamentally the functions of the citizens' group are, first, educational, and, second, pro-

motional. A brief consideration of the relationships between the citizens' group and the official planning commission will help to illustrate these functions. The commission's concern with community development is of a research and planning nature. It inventories community resources, analyzes conditions and trends, determines various immediate and future steps the community can take in guiding its growth and development. Whereas the planning commission is concerned with these technical considerations, the citizens' group properly helps to determine goals of desirable development, sometimes, particularly in small communities, assists in the commission's inventory, reviews its findings and insures that planning proposals are in keeping with citizen interests and wants. In these stages of its work, the citizens' organization brings factual material about city needs before the general public through affiliating and other citizens' groups, and carries on related activities of citizen education.

As the relative importance of the various city needs become clearer and planning solutions become available, a community action program takes shape. At this stage, the citizens' group performs one of its most important services to the community: through the organizations of the locality, it focuses community interest on the program. By means of liaison activities it encourages close collaboration of public and private enterprise in carrying out projects deemed desirable for good community development. Where political considerations appear to be obstructing action on the city's part in the program, or where private interests run counter to the public welfare, it brings public opinion to bear to insure and facilitate sound action on needed phases of community development by both public and private enterprise. This is the promotional phase of the organization's activities.

Both the citizens' group and the commission must be comprehensive, broad, and far-seeing in performing these community development functions. They have common handicaps in that tangible evidences of progress are not always readily discernible and that many of the projects and services undertaken for the welfare and development of the community are slow to materialize. It is all the more important that the citizens' organization programme its work so that constructive activity in one line offsets enforced lulls in another, and that the organization does not lose sight of the over-all program.

DEVELOPING THE OPERATING PLAN

The last step the citizens' group takes in organizing is one of formulating a workable operating plan. More than a mere job of developing a constitution and by-laws, this is a task of designing an organization which will most effectively put into practice the purposes of the organization and most expeditiously carry out its functions.

In general the group will be organized horizontally, i.e. a series of parallel program committees will be formed from the membership, perhaps one for each of the major interests which the organization has set forth in its purposes. In addition an executive or steering committee is essential not only to coordinate the work within the organization, but also to represent the group in dealings with the other outside agencies and organizations in the community (see Figure 3). If an executive secretary is employed, he is under their supervisory direction and carries out details of many of the executive committee's functions.

Once a workable organizational structure has been devised, responsibilities should be carefully defined, allocated, and fitted to this structure. Although they will vary with local interests and situations in each community, the following list illustrates some of the more general types of responsibilities which might be included:

Member Responsibilities

1. Represent citizens, i.e. identify interests, problems, and wants as expressed in meetings of other organizations to which they belong or as expressed by individuals in the localities which they represent, and report on them to the association.
2. Represent specialists, i.e. take back to the organizations and localities they represent the findings, proposals, and plans related to community development which have been developed by public and private planning and action agencies, discuss and explain them, and secure comments and suggestions.
3. Participate in association's program, i.e. at general meetings take part in determining association policies, reviewing committee progress, and indicating needed emphasis to parts of program, etc.

Program Committee Responsibilities

1. Prepare committee program, i.e. on the basis of preliminary study of its designated field of interest, develop a tentative statement of its goals, its immediate and long-range work sched-

ules, and its relationships with other organizations and agencies currently working in the committee's program field. As committee activities get under way revise and elaborate on initial program statement.

2. Carry on program activities, i.e. follow through on the task it has cut out for itself—e.g. maintain cooperative ties with official and private agencies working in similar fields; carry on studies, conduct polls, participate in surveys as recommended by consultant specialists or as jointly agreed upon by cooperating agencies; and develop techniques and materials for popularizing technical findings, proposals, and plans dealing with community development.
3. Report to association, i.e. submit program statement and progress reports to executive

and development of an operating plan—often have a tendency to fall upon the shoulders of the organization's leaders. While it is to be expected that much of the work will be handled by a few individuals, it is most important that the ideas and thinking which go into organizing the association are derived by group discussion. This is, of course, one form of citizen participation for which the organization was developed in the first instance.

LAYING OUT AN ACTION PROGRAM

The first and most urgent task of a newly organized and duly constituted citizens' association is one of projecting the ideas and interests which

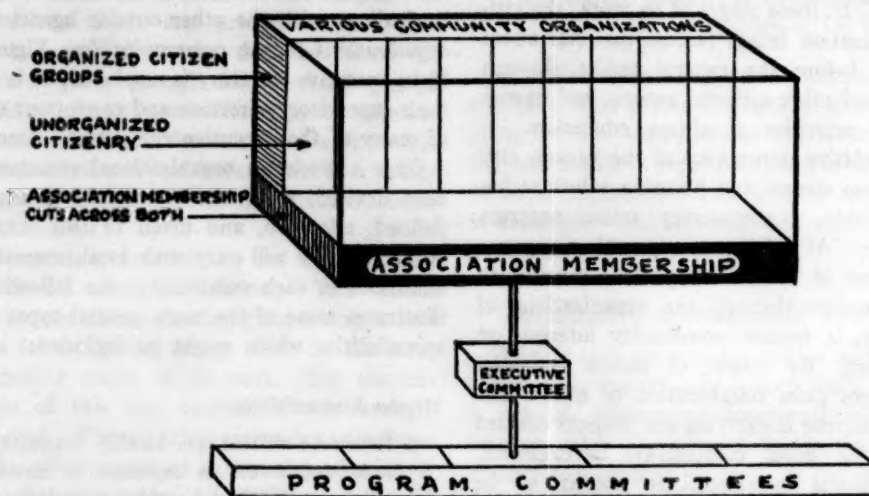


FIG. 3. ORGANIZATION OF CITIZENS' DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

committee for review and coordination and to membership for discussion and approval.

Executive Committee Responsibilities

1. Formulate and put into effect policies determined in general meetings of association.
2. Review and coordinate committee programs and activities, and develop an over-all association program.
3. Review and follow through on ways and means of carrying out committee recommendations dealing, on the one hand, with citizen groups and, on the other, with planning and action agencies.
4. Perform such miscellaneous administrative functions as preparing budget, preparing annual report, directing educational and promotional activities, etc.

The three steps a group takes in organizing—the formulation of goals, definition of functions,

were derived in the course of organizing into a clearly and specifically defined action program. Such a program is a work schedule which spells out the association's part in the planning and plan-executing phases of the community development process. It is both a schedule of activities and an over-all prospectus indicating the immediate and long-range interests it intends to pursue cooperatively with the other participants in the community development enterprise.

Without such a program prospectus as a guide to its activities, the energies of the group tend to become dissipated and scattered. The organization develops into a discussion group. Its initial hopes become stymied by an inability to bridge the gap between talk and action. As the gap becomes more apparent to the membership, the initial enthusiasms of the group become

bogged down and lost. Before it has really become a recognized entity in the community, it faces a very uncertain future. Although the presence or absence of program planning is but one of many factors which are involved in the process of social integration and disintegration in community organization, program planning is a particularly important factor in an organization of this kind.

The program of the citizens' association will in general provide for three categories of activities: (1) serving as a general coordinating influence among planning and development agencies and organizations of the locality; (2) serving in an educational capacity, i.e. bringing citizen thinking on community needs into planning in its formative stages on the one hand and taking the findings and proposals of planning specialists before the citizenry on the other; and (3) serving in a promotional capacity, i.e. marshalling public opinion in support of the proposed improvements which have been generally aired in carrying on educational activities.

GROUPS' COORDINATING ACTIVITIES

The extent of the first of these activities will be determined by the local situation. In the average city coordination of the many kinds of activities which have to do with all aspects of community development is often a hit or miss proposition. There are numerous public and private groups in the community engaged in planning activities, yet the word "planning" usually appears in the title of only one organization in the locality—the official planning commission. Operating under powers defined in state enabling legislation, this body generally has its functions phrased in terms of physical needs of the community. It is therefore not surprising that its program is developed around a literal interpretation of its powers, and its energies are principally absorbed in matters of physical planning. Whether or not this narrower delineation of the official public planning function is desirable or necessary is not a matter for this paper to consider. However, it is important to recognize that other kinds of planning activity occur in various other public and private agencies—perhaps the school board, the health and welfare agencies, the chamber of commerce, etc.

While there is specific legal provision impelling and authorizing coordination of physical planning in the community, no formal pattern exists for encouraging coordination of physical with eco-

nomic and social planning activities affecting community development. Consequently, unless some unusual situation develops which possibly brings all of these groups together on a single problem, there is little thought given to concentrating normally dispersed and dissipated planning energies. What coordination is achieved is a product of happenstance and usually based more upon cooperative efforts of a few strong personalities than upon the inherent merits and logic of coordinated planning.

This is the basis for including as part of the functions of the citizens' association, one of serving as a coordinating influence. Until some formal provision is made for bringing these specialized planning groups of the community together as a matter of course, the citizens' organization, serving as it does in a liaison capacity, can and should bring two or more of the groups together which have a common interest in and a special contribution to make to a community problem.

Examples of this service are many. To take only one, certainly a chamber of commerce which, with a genuine interest in sound economic development, is preparing information on types of industries needed to stabilize local employment conditions, will ultimately reach a point where it will want to consider what sites particularly suited to a particular kind of industry are available; the accessibility and availability of housing, recreation, health and educational facilities and services for its workers; the transportation, utilities, etc. If the chamber of commerce were to enlist the assistance of the official planning agency, the council of social agencies, and other appropriate groups especially qualified in the fields related to its primary interest, the resulting information would have greater validity than if it attempted to do the whole job itself. Moreover, as other plans develop, the other planning groups can make provision for facilities and services which will be particularly attractive to the types of industries the chamber of commerce determines to be most needed to stabilize local employment conditions. This is the kind of collaboration and coordination a citizens' association can be influential in developing among the planning groups in the community.

EDUCATIONAL AND PROMOTIONAL ACTIVITIES

These coordinating activities of the association may be placed under the heading of "local expediency" simply because no other group in the locality has any responsibility for or is assuming

any initiative in coordination. However, the second and third categories of activities in community development—the educational and promotional activities—are more legitimately a permanent function of the citizens' association. Not only are they a permanent function but they are a long-range concern of the association. This is particularly true if we visualize urban development as a long-range process providing a continuing adjustment to economic, social, and physical change in the community. Certainly, as a catalytic agent which brings the ideas of citizen and planning specialist into balanced harmony and follows them from the plan stage through the execution stage, these association activities are a continuing and indispensable part of the process. The program of the association will tentatively detail the various types of devices and the timing which will be employed in carrying on its educational and promotional activities in each committee field. Basically the devices used in both the educational and the promotional stages of the program are similar and with slight adjustment in emphasis can be used interchangeably. These devices are various—some direct and some indirect.

Of the different direct means of approaching the citizen on community problems and needs, simple personal contact between members and their friends is perhaps the most effective, particularly in a small community where a maximum of neighborhoods, economic groups and organizations is represented in the membership. In an organizational set-up in which various church, labor, educational, women's, fraternal, and other kinds of community organizations have formal representation in the citizens' development association, their representatives can also serve an extremely useful purpose in polling ideas among the members of the other organizations, discussing plans and proposals for the improvement and development of the community, and so on.

The various program committees of the association may find it worthwhile to hold joint meetings with individual organizations which have signified a special interest in their particular program fields. These more formal contacts should be a useful

supplement to the informal member contacts in sounding out ideas on improvement needs of the community. Devices which might prove useful both in securing citizen expression on community problems and in sounding out public reaction to specific improvement proposals are questionnaires, public opinion polls, forums and public meetings. Others such as newspaper articles, pamphlets, radio forums, exhibits and posters for store windows, and film showings are more suited to familiarizing the general public with planning findings and proposals and in rallying public opinion behind specific improvement projects.

The indirect methods are particularly useful in jelling citizen thinking. If used in combination with some of the devices discussed above, they are invaluable in bringing out citizen ideas on community problems. Another is the introduction of projects or special studies into the local schools in conjunction with social science and other classes. The assignment of community problems for pupil study and report is a well-known device for developing parent interest in these problems.

The use of these direct and indirect channels to the people, singly or in combination, must of course be carefully studied by the association. Every community has its own peculiar needs. What is effective in one city is not necessarily effective in another. This is why it is so important for the citizens' group to detail its activities in a specific work program before it actually takes part in any particular community development project.

The plan outlined in the foregoing pages is based upon the premise that real progress and achievement in community development are possible only through continuing collaboration of citizens, public officials, and private interests. It presents a way of developing citizen participation in this three-partner enterprise. However, it must be emphasized again that the plan is experimental. The steps presented for organizing and programming citizen effort in community development are specifications for an exploratory study. It is anticipated that before any valid principles and procedures are forthcoming considerable more study and experimentation will be required.

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CURRENT STATUS OF ECOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN MENTAL DISORDER*

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OUR main purpose in this paper is to evaluate recent studies and criticisms which have appeared dealing with the ecology of mental disorder. The earlier studies dealing with the spatial distribution of "insanity" had a more limited influence than have the more recent studies possibly because of the then infant character of the developing field of psychiatry. However, almost forty years ago MacDermott¹ raised the interesting question as a result of his study dealing with the distribution of "insanity" in England. He asked, "why it was if there was a specific diathesis governing insanity that there should be such vast differences in its geographical distribution?" Such a question points up the fact that the distribution studies of any earlier day tended to be used and thought of in much the same way as the current studies even though the latter generally have been cloaked with the conceptual framework of human ecology.

However, MacDermott's question is of more than passing interest for it serves to indicate that the problems raised by the more recent studies are often more numerous than those which they answer. By this remark, I do not mean to throw the baby out with the bath but I intend rather to point up two items: (1) that these ecological studies have definite limitations in enabling us to get closer to the specific etiological factors involved in mental disorders, and (2) that these studies have a significance over and beyond that of bringing us closer to these causative factors.

Thus, specifically in this paper, we wish to do the following: (1) to point to the solid findings and the emerging problems as a result of these studies; (2) to evaluate the criticisms which have been made concerning them; and (3) to give some estimate of the significance of this research both in throwing light on the etiology of mental disorder and in contributing to our knowledge of the society in which we live.

Almost a decade has passed since Faris and I

* Read before the Sociology Section of the Michigan Academy of Arts and Sciences, April 13, 1946.

¹ W. R. MacDermott, "The Topographical Distribution of Insanity," *British Medical Journal*, London (1908).

completed the ecological studies of mental disorder in Chicago and Providence. Since that time several other studies have appeared which have served to check the results obtained for Chicago and Providence. Here, I refer to the studies of Green,² Queen,³ Schroeder,⁴ Mowrer,⁵ Tietze,⁶ and Hadley.⁷

Since the major findings of our ecological studies in Chicago are generally known, it seems pointless to repeat them here. My chief concern will be rather to examine the other studies which have appeared to find out the extent to which they test the findings for Chicago. The one point on which all of the ecological studies of mental disorder so far are in agreement is the fact that all types of mental disorder show a wide range of rates in their distribution and that the high rates are invariably concentrated in areas at the center of the city with the rates declining in magnitude toward the periphery. Thus, Schroeder concludes in his summary of the evidence that "insanity areas" have been shown to exist. To date ecological studies in nine cities support this finding.

However, when one turns to the distributions of the different types of psychoses, one finds it necessary to be more tentative with respect to agreement of the different studies. In this connection the major finding of the Chicago study was that the schizophrenic cases showed a high degree

² H. W. Green, *Persons Admitted to the Cleveland State Hospital, 1928-37* (Cleveland Health Council, 1939).

³ S. A. Queen, "The Ecological Studies of Mental Disorder," *American Sociological Review* V (April, 1940), 201-209.

⁴ C. W. Schroeder, "Mental Disorders in Cities," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVII (July, 1942), 40-47.

⁵ Ernest Mowrer, *Disorganization—Personal and Social* (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1942), chapters 15 and 16.

⁶ C. Tietze, P. Lemkau, and Marcia Cooper, "Schizophrenia, Manic Depressive Psychosis and Social-Economic Status," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVIII (Sept. 1941), 167-175.

⁷ E. E. Hadley and others, "Military Psychiatry—An Ecological Note," *Psychiatry*, VII (Nov. 1944), 379-407.

of concentration at the center of the city while the manic-depressive cases showed a distribution which we described as random in character. The distribution evidence from the five mid-western cities reported on by Schroeder tended to support this finding but not conclusively. For example, Dee reports for St. Louis that "absolutely no correlation exists" between schizophrenic and manic-depressive distributions while Ruess from Milwaukee points out that the manic-depressive distribution, although more random than the schizophrenic, nevertheless shows a concentration of cases in the downtown and river-valley sections. In contrast, Mowrer found that the manic-depressive distribution in Chicago while not "random" has little in common with any of the other patterns. "It seems to be," Mowrer writes, "essentially the concentric-circle pattern with a break in the upper four-fifths of the range." In addition, Mowrer did not find for Chicago as we did the tendency for the manic-depressive cases to come from areas with a fairly high socio-economic level. The lack of conclusive support for this finding may be, as Schroeder points out, the small number of cases available for study in some of these cities—although this could hardly account for the difference which Mowrer reports for Chicago.

With respect to the distributions of the so-called organic psychoses and the toxic psychoses, the agreement in findings is still more tentative. Mowrer's findings for Chicago, in general, supports ours. However, with respect to the distribution of senile psychoses, there seems to be little agreement with our finding that these psychoses are highly associated with areas of poverty. Dee reports a similar lack of agreement for the St. Louis data and states that "the high rates as well as the low rates are scattered widely throughout the city."

Again, with respect to our finding that the schizophrenic rates are disproportionately high for persons living in areas not primarily populated by members of their own groups, the only support comes from the St. Louis data. None of the studies in the other cities has attempted to substantiate this finding.

In our Chicago study the large number of cases available made it possible to compare the rate distributions of the sub-types of schizophrenia. No other study has attempted this and so the marked differences which we found in the distribution of the paranoid and catatonic types of schizo-

phrenia can hardly be accepted conclusively but must await the results of further study. The relatively high correlations obtained for the catatonic and paranoid rates with the percentage of foreign-born and the percentage of hotel and lodging house residents respectively are likely to show marked shifts if new samples would be secured. For example, Mowrer's correlations for each year between 1929 and 1935 for divorce and insanity rates ranged from $.09 \pm .11$ in 1929 to a high of $.78 \pm .05$ in 1935 and these figures give some indication of the manner in which correlations of various indexes with insanity rates may tend to fluctuate. Queen has commented both on the necessity to obtain more refined indexes for measuring specific community conditions as well as the necessity for investigators to agree on the same index in order that the different studies may be more comparable.

Thus, the findings from our original study which have been substantiated by other investigations appear to be the following:

1. That all types of mental disorder show a pattern of distribution within the city where the high rates are highly concentrated in and around the central business district with the rates declining in every direction toward the periphery.
2. That the schizophrenic rates in different cities show a pattern of distribution which is very similar to that of all types of mental disorder.
3. That the schizophrenic rates form an expected typical pattern with the concentration of the high rates in areas of low economic status while the manic-depressive rates show a much wider scatter within the city and show a lack of conformity to the concentric-circle pattern.
4. That persons residing in areas not primarily populated by persons of their own ethnic or racial groups show much higher rates than those of the numerically dominant group.
5. Mowrer's Chicago study has substantiated our finding with respect to the pattern of rates formed by the toxic psychoses and general paralysis.

These, then, seem to be the major findings which have been substantiated by the work done in other cities and by the repeat Chicago study of Mowrer's. Let us now turn to a consideration of the various criticisms which have followed closely in the wake of these studies.

I recall that when our first maps showing the distribution of cases of mental disorder from Elgin State Hospital were prepared, one of the first

reactions of the psychiatrists was that the distributions merely represented a selection of cases by public hospitals from the impoverished communities in the city. The persons from the wealthier communities naturally went to the private hospitals. To answer this charge we laboriously set about to collect cases from the private sanitariums in the Chicago area although from the statistics available, the result was really never in doubt. The addition of these cases (17.5 percent of the total) did not change at all the pattern of the rates as evidenced by a correlation figure of $.99 \pm .001$ between the state hospital rates and the state and private hospital combined rates. Thus, including all cases possible there still remained the demonstrated differences in the distribution of rates; namely, in terms of chances, a person living near the center of the city is about 15 times more likely to be committed to a mental hospital than a person living on the outskirts.

A second reaction of the psychiatrists to our maps was to advance the "drifting" hypothesis. This view emphasizes that the concentration of cases at the center of the city is caused by the fact that the emotionally and mentally unstable fail in their economic life and thus drift to the depressed areas from which they are committed. While this may be a tenable hypothesis, it is extremely difficult to prove or disprove. The factors which possibly are important in evaluating this hypothesis are (1) age at commitment, (2) with whom living, (3) economic history, (4) extent of mobility, and (5) symptomatic character of the disorder. Moreover, these factors would have to be examined with respect to their role in each of the psychoses. While this has not been done in any systematic fashion, certain observations can be made. In the first place the facts concerning age, economic history, and habits of life of alcoholics and persons infected with syphilis point to the conclusion that the patterns of the rates of the alcoholic psychoses and general paralysis have a plausible explanation in the "drift" hypothesis.

However, it is in a consideration of the validity of this hypothesis applied to the patterns formed by the rates of the functional psychoses which is of major interest to the sociologist. Certainly, the findings with respect to the distribution of the manic-depressive cases give little foundation to the "drift" theory. In fact, it has been held by some that the nature of the manic reaction is such that persons who eventually develop this psychosis are very likely to work themselves into positions

of high social-economic status. It is in the examination of the patterns of rates formed by the schizophrenic psychoses that one confronts squarely the question: Does the character of the cultural life and of the interpersonal relations in the areas at the center of the city acting upon the persons who reside there account for the high rates of schizophrenia or are they to be explained by the fact that incipient schizophrenics tend to drift into these areas? It seems to me that to go all out for this latter theory as some psychiatrists have tended to do ignores both a wealth of data which has been collected relative to the growth and expansion of American cities and much of the significant extant knowledge relative to the organization of our economic life. This theory thus in operation would be analogous to an earlier biological explanation for city slums: namely, that it is not the slums which make slum people but slum people who make the slums.

Let's consider for a moment the foreign-born communities in our cities. Certainly, no one can seriously contend that these communities have been settled by people who have drifted into these areas because of personality instability. Rather have they represented the starting point for various immigrant groups as they have struggled for a better life and a more secure economic niche in our society. In these communities, like others, people are born, grow up, and die, and the sons and daughters of these immigrant groups have in many instances succeeded in getting out of these communities and assuming larger and more significant roles in the life of the community. This is so well-known that it hardly bears repeating. Rather is it that our focus of attention must be on the character of the cultural and interpersonal life which acts on the people who are born into these communities or who have come there from other lands with marked variations in capacity for adjustment.

My studies of the catatonics⁸ who have been nurtured in this type of community show that they represent sensitive, self-conscious, and timid personalities who find it difficult to come to terms with a type of social life which is terrifically harsh, intensely individualistic, highly competitive, extremely crude, and often violently brutal. Thus, the character of life only intensifies the tensions

⁸ H. Warren Dunham, "The Social Personality of the Catatonic-Schizophrenic," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XLIX (May, 1944), 508-518.

and anxieties which already have been developed in these personalities. What I have been saying translated into statistical terms merely means that in these communities one's chances of growing up and developing a personality which can adjust in some fashion to our cultural life are less than in those communities at the periphery of the city. To put it very generally one might say that such communities deny for many persons "adequate breathing space" in growing up as is so well depicted in Wright's portrayal of the life of Bigger Thomas in *Native Son*.

This analysis can be made without any smug reference to disorganized areas. It is not that these communities are disorganized, as Whyte⁹ and others have shown, but rather that life is hard, the struggle is sharper, and consequently more personalities have difficulty in coping with it and finding acceptable social economic niches in contrast to the other communities of the city.

I have had to write generally, here, because of our ignorance as to how schizophrenia develops but I am, of course, well aware that speaking of the inability of persons to fit into the life of the community does not explain this disorder. However, we have been concerned with the "drift" theory and I have only been trying to show that such an explanation hardly fits the communities populated by the foreign-born and the first generation born there. The drift hypothesis would perhaps apply most effectively to the hobohemia communities but these represent a very small section of the high rate areas. Even here where queer characters often are found on every hand the selection is by no means exclusively on the basis of mental instability. Rather a host of factors, many economic, operating in the experience of the person, play a role. Rooming-house areas, likewise, are populated by persons who have been motivated by many different situations. Many, as is well known, are persons who use this area as a stopping off place in their struggle for a higher plane of living.

I realize, of course, that these observations do not conclusively dispose of this theory, but I believe that they are relevant to an examination of it. Further, I suspect that when we have a sounder knowledge of both ecological processes and schizophrenic etiology, we shall see the "drift"

hypothesis for what it really is, namely, an attempt to annihilate the significance of the ecological findings in much the same fashion that certain persons during the thirties tried to dismiss the depression by explaining the loss of a job on the basis of a person's neurotic makeup or emotional instability. This view, admittedly, seemed a little absurd as the depression deepened, but the fact that it was there is a tribute only to our individualistic thought patterns and not to our capacity for a scientific analysis of our cultural order.

The statistical criticism which Frank A. Ross¹⁰ made of Faris' original rates has been satisfactorily answered both by him and our testing for the significant differences between the rates in the various communities. The conclusion has been that the majority of rates are significant for the different sections of the city and that the significant differences between the rates reaffirms the pattern which had been previously established. While this point is of statistical importance in all ecological studies, nevertheless it is generally observed that differences between high and low rates are too great to have been produced by chance alone.

Another statistical argument which has been launched against these studies is the failure to take account of the factor of mobility in the computation of rates. Here, the point is that in certain communities within the city the population may turn over from two to four times within a year and so it is hardly correct to compute a rate using a population base for one day during the year. One immediate answer to this criticism was to point out that, if the rates in the hobohemia communities were divided by three, these rates would still be the highest in the series. Jaffe and Shanus,¹¹ attempting to avoid the problem presented by the factor of mobility computed the chances by age and sex of a person being committed from a stable area with a median rental under \$50.00 in contrast to an area with a median rental over \$50.00. They standardized the rates for age and sex upon a life table population. They found that in the poorer area a male has 1 chance in 18 of being committed; in the area of higher economic status 1 chance in 21 (for females 1 in 20 and 1 in

¹⁰ F. A. Ross, "Ecology and the Statistical Method," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVIII (January, 1933), 507-522.

¹¹ A. J. Jaffe and E. Shanus, "Economic Differentials in the Probability of Insanity," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (January, 1939), 534-539.

⁹ William F. Whyte, *Street Corner Society*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943).

22 respectively). These findings do, at least, tend to substantiate partially the pattern found for all types of mental disorder. If one could eliminate the influence of mobility in the extremely high rate areas, it seems that one might reasonably expect that the chance of commitment would be greater than in either of the so-called non-mobile areas.

Indirect support of these ecological studies showing the highest rates to be in the communities having high rates of mobility is provided by the study of Tietze, Lemkau, and Cooper.¹² These investigators have shown rather conclusively that high rates for psychopathic persons are provided by those who move most frequently in contrast to those who reside for a long period in the same house. What is more, these rates are higher for intra-city migrants than migrants from other communities. In other words, while mobility may affect the rate, the mobile persons are being committed at a higher rate than the non-mobile persons. While this argument cannot be given a more conclusive answer until we know more concerning the patterns of mobility within the different areas of the city, it can be indicated that the evidence to date does much to minimize its significance. This would be especially true if one could show that the "movers" move around in the same local communities.

Now, we come to our final questions. What is the significance of these studies? Do they give us any important clues for revealing the etiology of the different types of mental disorder? Whatever significance these studies eventually may prove to have, I would say now that they have a value which reaches beyond the immediate but pressing problems of etiology attached to the various types of mental disorder. It seems to me that these studies taken together with all of the other ecological and demographic studies of community life provide us with a wealth of basic data which are constantly being called for by city and state planning commissions. More specifically, yet, such studies provide basic information for those community-wide programs which attempt to attack a specific problem as has been demonstrated in delinquency and venereal disease.

The eventual expression of community rates within a city in terms of the chances for a person

¹² C. Tietze, P. Lemkau, and M. Cooper, "Personal Disorder and Spatial Mobility," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVIII (July, 1942), 29-39.

to be committed to a mental hospital should prove valuable not because of any light it throws on the development of the disorder but rather because of the illumination it gives to the operation of certain socio-economic processes within our society.

These studies and others like them would seem also to have a value for the field of human ecology. For certainly, if human ecology is concerned with the processes which are involved in community growth and decay, it must perforce be concerned with those several conditions in the community which foster community organization or point to community decline. Such systematic knowledge should have a predictive value for the ecologist and these studies along with others like them should contribute to such systematic knowledge.

Turning now to a consideration of their value with respect to discovering the etiological factors behind the mental disorders, we find ourselves on rather uncertain ground. To be sure these studies provide support and justification for the necessity of examining the social situation and its role in the development of mental disorder. But this had been suggested without these studies although specific research into this factor had seldom been attempted. Then, again it has been conventional to say that these studies suggest hypotheses concerning the role of certain social factors. Specifically, with respect to these ecological studies, the factors of social isolation, mobility, and cultural conflict have been suggested. But, it can hardly be maintained that these factors have evolved from the distribution studies. Such studies may give support to theories involving these factors but then only by implication. Cultural conflict had already been emphasized by Malzberg¹³ and Braatoy¹⁴ as a result of statistical analyses previous to the publication of these studies. The theory of social isolation, applied to schizophrenia, developed by Faris¹⁵ and presented in our joint work, is certainly congenial to the sociologically minded person but it does not flow from the ecological distributions nor was it developed from ecological

¹³ B. Malzberg, *Social and Biological Aspects of Mental Disease* (Utica, N. Y.: State Hospital Press, 1940).

¹⁴ T. Braatoy, "Is it Probable that the Sociological Situation Is a Factor in Schizophrenia?" *Acta Neurology et Psychiatriæ*, XII (1937).

¹⁵ R. E. L. Faris, "Cultural Isolation and the Schizophrenic Personality," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIX (September, 1934), 155-169.

correlations. It is as much in the sociological viewpoint, via the accounts of feral men, as is the notion that interaction with other persons is essential for socialization and personality development. Then, there is the factor of mobility supposedly emphasized by some of the correlations, but, as Queen has pointed out, this is difficult to evaluate because different indexes have been used in the various cities to measure it. Then, too, there is the question of deciding whether mobility refers to the community situation or the residential movement of specific persons. However, if one proceeds to analyze the role of this factor further, as Tietze and his co-workers have done, one is still confronted with the crux of the problem: Do insane persons move frequently or do frequently moving persons become insane? Even if one could answer the first question in the affirmative, one would hardly be on the road to solving the nature-nurture riddle as Tietze implied.

The difficulty seems to be that these factors and others like them are not specific enough either quantitatively defined or verbally defined, and consequently statistical manipulations which proceed from them are very crude. Additional work may make them more usable and more specific. However, it seems rather obvious to me with respect to mental disorder that the big task is to find out how these factors and others like them become incorporated into the experience of those persons who break down with schizophrenia in contrast to those in the same community who do not develop schizophrenia. Then, too, the non-specific character of these factors as applied to mental disorder is further demonstrated by the fact that they are often used to explain other types of deviant behavior. Cultural conflict has been linked with delinquency and crime, and isolation with suicide.

In reviewing our book, Plant's¹⁶ comment "that such a painstaking piece of work could be done on so many people and yet yield so little knowledge about anyone of them" has been regarded by some as not quite fair, and perhaps it was not if confined to the ecological studies *per se*. But, if the ecological studies are to be regarded as instruments to uncover etiological factors in mental disorder, then it seems to me that his comment takes on a new significance—a significance which points directly

to the limitations of these studies in clarifying the etiological factors behind mental disorders in all their nosological ramifications.

Krout's¹⁷ earlier criticism of my work attempted to come to grips with this problem and to offer a theoretical viewpoint which would give new meaning to the ecological findings. His contention was that in the stage of the fixation we can see the meaning in the differences of the schizophrenic and manic-depressive distributions. The potential schizophrenic is fixated at the oral stage of development by the frustrations experienced by early feeding. The potential manic-depressive becomes fixated at the anal-erotic level of development because of frustrations in later toilet training. The first occurs among families in the culturally impoverished communities; the latter takes place in families on a higher cultural level.

This charting of the birth and early development of the potential schizophrene and manic-depressive with reference to different economic levels via a psychoanalytic framework is an interesting if not significant effort to account for differences in the distribution of these psychoses. To imply that frustrations at the feeding level lead to the schizophrenic reaction and frustrations of early toilet training may generate a manic-depressive psychosis seems hardly to fit into what is already known about the character of these two psychotic disorders. Then, too, it seems a little absurd to think that these particular frustrations in childhood training are going to be sharply differentiated by economic levels.

Krout has, perhaps, done nothing more than to demonstrate the almost insurmountable difficulty in obtaining an adequate theory to account for the distributions. Krout, along with Queen and others, points to the need for more complete life histories of persons who develop these psychoses in contrast to those who do not in the same community setting. Perhaps, but one can never know this, the ecological studies may have stimulated demands for the above type of study. Be that as it may, the concluding note would appear to be that these studies have provided important and useful information about our community life; they have revealed little that is significant about the etiological factors which lie behind the various types of mental disorder.

¹⁶ James Plant, "Review of Mental Disorders in Urban Areas," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (May, 1939), 100.

¹⁷ Maurice H. Krout, "A Note on Dunham's Contribution to the Ecology of the Functional Psychoses," *American Sociological Review*, III (April, 1938), 209-212.

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MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Contributions to this Department will include original articles, reports of conferences, special investigations and research, and programs relating to marriage and the family.

SOME PROBLEMS OF SAMPLING IN CONNECTION WITH STUDIES OF FAMILY ECONOMICS*

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I AM going to discuss briefly four types of problems in connection with sampling in family economics studies: (1) problems in connection with sampling inherent in the method of collecting the data; (2) problems arising in the process of collection; (3) problems in connection with selecting the sample; and (4) problems of measuring the reliability of the sample.

The first set of problems arises because the best method for securing accurate responses is not the best method of getting representative groups of families. For example, the most accurate socioeconomic data can be secured from records kept by family members under close supervision by trained personnel. But those who will keep such records are members of above average families; that is, families with superior practices. In a study which I have recently made, including all families in four small towns of Mississippi, data were obtained by personal interview with the use of schedules. On these schedules were one or two general questions concerning the usual methods of preparation and/or serving 12 common foods. This larger study was followed by a food preparation record study in which a specified number of families in each racial and economic group in which families of the larger study had been classified were included. When the preparation and/or serving information, obtained in the initial survey study from the larger group and from the record keeping group, race and economic status held constant, were compared, better practices on the part of

the record group were found.¹ This was much more evident in Negro than in white families. Keeping records, even when one has the help of a supervisor, is too difficult for women of little schooling, and thus cooperation of the near-illiterate is definitely limited. Median grade completed by Negro homemakers in the larger study was the sixth, by record keeping Negro homemakers, the eighth. Median grade completed by white homemakers in both studies was the twelfth.

Also, it may be that there was more interest in enrolling in a study involving keeping records of foods prepared on the part of homemakers with better preparation practices. The fact that record keepers with the same schooling as non-record keepers, reported for example, somewhat greater use of milk and eggs in cooking, more enriched flour, less draining of canned string beans, would indicate that record keeping may select those with somewhat better practices. It is interesting here to report that there were more families with one or more members having had home economics training in the record study than in the survey study from which they were drawn.

Two methods were used in the Consumer Purchases Study for obtaining amounts of food consumed during one week; that is, the record keeping method and the estimate method. The former required keeping an accurate day-by-day record, and the latter involved giving the field agent an estimate of consumption of items on a food esti-

* A paper read in the Research Department Section of the American Home Economics Association meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, June 1946.

¹ Dorothy Dickins, "Some Factors Related to Food Preparation," *Miss. Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul.* 433 (1946).

mate schedule or check list. According to Dr. Stiebeling, families in the two groups were similar with respect to income and family type distribution. Unfortunately, families keeping records in the Consumer Purchases Study were not also interviewed with the use of estimate schedules and vice versa, so that data for identical families from the two methods cannot be compared. However, in the report it is stated, "It is possible that the interest in food and the painstaking attitude of some housewives which prompted the keeping of a food record, differentiated them from those giving information from check lists."²

It would, therefore, seem that, since a record study may mean less representative families, record studies should be supplemented with information obtained from families by the estimate method.

One of the cheapest and easiest methods of collecting socio-economic data is by means of the mailed questionnaire. This mailed questionnaire has a place in research, though a limited one. On occasions, it may be used to obtain supplementary data. It cannot be considered a satisfactory substitute for the more elaborate and comprehensive survey and supervised record methods. It is obvious that with the questionnaire there is no opportunity for explaining personally to each individual the objectives of the study and the precise information wanted in answer to each question. If a questionnaire is sent to a list of farmers selected at random, the better educated and more intelligent types of farmers tend to reply, so that the returns do not represent a cross section.³ Besides, many, perhaps most, of the mailing lists used in sending out questionnaires such as the mailing lists of colleges, membership lists of cooperatives, names furnished by county agents, are composed of selected farmers. Those replying represent a still further selected group. The farmers who would reply to a questionnaire on egg production would likely have larger and more successful poultry enterprises than those not replying.

Unfortunately for the social scientist, human beings do not behave like test tube experiments.

²Hazel K. Stiebeling and others, *Family Food Consumption and Dietary Levels: Five Regions*. Farm Series Consumer Purchases Study, U. S. D. A. Misc. Pub., No. 405.

³George A. Lundberg, *Social Research* (rev. ed. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1942), pp. 206 and 207.

Some real problems of sampling arise in the process of collecting information from families supposed to be included in the group to be studied. These problems are refusals of families to cooperate, the inability of families to give the desired information, and unsuccessful attempts to contact families.

Incomplete schedules and refusals are largely due to the approach used by the field agent. Hard-to-contact families may be families in which all members work away from home, or families in which members spend much time away from home visiting or in community activities, or they may be families who have heard about the study and selected this method of refusing to cooperate.

Families of business and professional persons working on their own account more often refuse to give the information desired than do families of wage earners. In other words, refusals and cannot contact rates are always higher in wealthier neighborhoods or communities.⁴ There are, of course, methods of reducing refusal rates of the wealthy to a minimum. The most important is the right sort of field agent. There have been too many well planned schedules put into hands of agents inadequate to do the job. Some agents can do satisfactory work with low-income families who would be dismal failures with families of mill owners, bank presidents, and cotton planters, and vice versa. Agents should be selected for families rather than families for agents.

Let us always remember that cooperation in socio-economic studies involves more effort on the part of wealthy than of poor families, since wealthy families have much more to report. There is a difference, for instance, in reporting clothing of one's 18-year-old daughter who has spent \$700 and one's 18-year-old daughter who has spent \$17. Then, too, in wealthy homes, family and business accounts are often kept separately, and the homemaker finds it most difficult to give the information in the form asked.

That such a large number of Mississippi Delta planter families cooperated in the Consumer Purchases Study was for the most part because special agents were assigned to these families. The Delta planter and his wife had been made to realize that this nationwide study was being conducted whether they cooperated or not, and that their refusal would give a one-sided picture of the

⁴National Resources Committee, *Consumer Incomes in the United States* (Washington: U. S. Gov. Printing Office), 1938.

Delta. A good publicity program is valuable in getting cooperation and especially in the case of the wealthy group who are more likely to read the papers, hear the radio talk, or attend the club. If this group can be convinced that the study is worthwhile, they will cooperate, even though cooperation is a lot of bother.

Farm people, I find, are on the whole more cooperative than are town people. There are a number of reasons. Two important ones seem to be (1) farm people are often lonesome and welcome company, even an interviewer; (2) farm people are more accustomed to field studies, since they have been interviewed by personnel of the Agricultural Experiment Station and the U. S. Department of Agriculture in numerous studies throughout the years.

If field agents are selected on the basis of possession of qualities desirable in field agents, and if they are assigned to neighborhoods best suited to their abilities and background, refusals will seldom occur, granted, of course, the study makes sense and has been given the right sort of publicity.

Practically all schedules can be completed if the family is cooperative and the agent knows his job. Suppose, for instance, we want to know total number of days lost in the last six months (or better, since Christmas) by family members due to illness. This information the homemaker cannot give. However, she does usually remember the kind and number of illnesses of each family member. She may not remember the exact number of days lost from each illness, but she can generally give a good estimate if asked whether it was about 1 day, 3 days, 5 days, a week, 10 days, and the like.

Revisits, telephone calls to the family to clear up missing items and interviewing the husband are often necessary to make the schedule acceptable, but these procedures are preferable to discarding schedules.

The number of uncontacted families can often be reduced by shifting the time of the study. For example, in one wealthy little town in which I made a study, a number of leading families could not be contacted in July and early August, since they had left the city. In the fall these families were again visited and found at home ready and willing to cooperate. Some member in families in which all members work away from home can usually be found at home in the late afternoon. Sometimes calls at night are necessary.

Families in which there is illness at the time of the survey present another problem. They can usually be revisited.

In addition to the two types of problems in connection with sampling discussed, we have the problems arising from selecting the sample. Obviously, the most important consideration in selecting a sample is that it be closely representative of the universe.

Three of the most commonly used means of selecting a sample, whether for a personal interview or a mailed inquiry, are (1) stratification, (2) random point selection, and (3) random selection. Selection within the strata may again be made by any of the three methods.

An example of selection by stratification in common use is the so-called "quota method" familiar to almost every one because of the publicity that it has received by its use in election forecasts, public opinion polls, and marketing surveys.⁵ In this method the population is divided into a number of strata or cells and a sample drawn to represent each cell. The number of people to be interviewed in each cell is called the quota for the cell. The strata or cells may be based on age, sex, economic level, geographic location, occupation. One objection to this method is that the quotas are based on historical data which in a period of rapid change may be inaccurate.

Another objection is that usually the selection of families within a cell is left to the discretion of field agents. Thus, instructions to interviewers for classifying families into four economic levels by one agency using the quota method of sampling include statements such as: "Judge people on the standards of the community in which they are living."

A. *Economic level* includes "those who take the comforts and necessities of life for granted and are able to afford the luxuries common to their community. In general, the A's can buy both a new car and take a vacation trip without having to choose between them."

B. *Economic level* includes "those who take the comforts and necessities for granted except in severe depression, but who measure trying one luxury against trying another. They might also be called the "upper middle class" and include

⁵ A. J. King, "The Master Sample of Agriculture I. Development and Use," *Journal of the Amer. Statistical Assoc.* (March 1945), pp. 38-45.

the somewhat less affluent members of the above-named groups, salesmen, some white collar workers, and certain skilled laborers. Usually when the B's are putting their children through college, the family feels the pressure a good deal, perhaps buys fewer clothes, or doesn't take vacation trips, etc."

C. *Economic level* includes "those who take most of the comforts and necessities of life for granted so long as their fairly secure jobs last and who reach up, and save up, for some of the simpler luxuries," while

D. *Economic level* includes "those who have most of the necessities of life and a few of the comforts so long as their not-too-secure jobs last, but who have to reach up, and save up, for any major necessary expenditure, such as new clothes for the children when school opens."⁶

In random point selection, popular for a few years in drawing farm samples, points are located at random on maps and a certain number of farms nearest the points are included in the sample. Points thus selected are more likely to fall on large farms than on small farms.

Random selection may be from a list of persons, of addresses, of dwellings indicated by dots on a map, or of areas. There are two random sampling procedures, regardless of the selection method used: (1) selection at random throughout; (2) selection of a random starting number and then at given intervals, as for example, drawing one of four slips of paper numbered 1 to 4. If number 3 is drawn, then including in the sample the 3rd, 7th, 11th, and so on, name, address, dwelling or area.

Sampling of farms in the Consumer Purchases Study is a good example of random selection of areas. In this study, maps were obtained for each county showing the network of roads and the locations of farm houses. These maps were marked off into subdivisions including in each 15 to 17 farms. Both roads and natural landmarks were considered in marking the subdivisions. Every farm was included in one, and only one, subdivision. The subdivisions were numbered consecutively beginning in one corner of the county and working back and forth from one side of the county to the other. After the subdivisions were numbered, every fourth sub-

division was marked to be included in the first sample. To determine where to begin drawing this sample, one of four slips of paper numbered 1 to 4 was selected.⁷

The most recent and best method of sampling in studies of family economics is by random selection of *geographic* areas. This method of sampling is commonly known as area sampling, and the name is unfortunate, for as I have just shown, we may have random selection of areas that are not geographic areas.

In 1938, Iowa State College, in cooperation with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, began research in the "area" method of sampling for farm information. This method consists of dividing the region, state, or county to be studied, into small geographic areas based upon sections in which the land has been surveyed and/or upon aerial photographs. To obtain an unbiased selection of farms, we would select at random a certain number of these small geographic areas and take all the farms whose headquarters fall within the areas selected. If a farm has no headquarters, it may be included in the sample if, for example, its southeast corner lies within one of the selected areas. If we wish to obtain a sample of families rather than a sample of farms, all families who live within the selected geographic areas are included.⁸

The area method has certain advantages over the methods just described. It provides a mechanical means of selecting the persons to be interviewed and does not depend upon historical data either for selection of the sample or for making estimates of the population characteristics from the characteristics of the sample. Area sampling units do not change in size and their numbers are constant from year to year. They are geographic units.

The Bureau of Agricultural Economics, the Census Bureau, and the Statistical Laboratory at Iowa State College, have drawn up a national sample by the area sampling method designated as "The Master Sample of Agriculture." The work of drawing a master sample of city areas is also about completed. Sanborn and other city maps, special census tabulation by blocks

⁷ Dorothy S. Brady and others, *Family Income and Expenditures, Southeast Region, Part I. Family Income, Consumer Purchases Study, Farm Series*, Misc. Pub. No. 462, p. 177.

⁸ King, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-45.

⁶ Elmo Roper, "Problems and Possibilities in the Sampling Technique," *Journalism Quarterly*, XVIII, No. 1 (March 1941).

in large cities, and aerial photographs were used. These materials are available at small cost.

I recently secured from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics maps of Sunflower County, Mississippi, on which sample areas (by the area sampling method) had been designated, to use in connection with a small scale study. Two difficulties, neither of which is serious, were encountered in the use of these maps. The first difficulty was that sample areas were not delineated so they could be located easily by the field worker. This was because sample areas were for the most part half sections or quarter sections of land (no doubt because maps of Sunflower County showing details sufficient to make other kinds of geographical delineation were not available). This difficulty was met by taking the maps to the tax assessor's office and with his assistance and the assistance of his records delineating areas so the agents could locate them.

The second difficulty encountered in using the maps in the Sunflower County study was lack of experience on the part of field agents in reading maps. This same difficulty is, however, encountered in any study using maps in sampling and is a more serious problem than social scientists without field experience realize.

Aerial maps are even more difficult to use than are highway maps, for they are so greatly enlarged that one has to become accustomed to the fact that delineated areas do not cover as much territory as they appear to. Delineation of areas on aerial maps by the inexperienced is slow work. The fact that such areas are so enlarged that it is impossible to use speedometer readings in helping to delineate areas adds to the difficulty.

Agents need to be carefully trained to use maps. Field trips for the purpose of learning to select samples from maps is an important part of the training of the field workers. Then, too, some areas covered in the survey by every agent should be checked by the supervisor.

One of the advantages of the area sampling method, that is, no need of bringing in outside information that may be out-of-date, such as census data, does not, however, apply to spot studies using this method. Suppose we want schedules from 550 rural families in Lee County, Mississippi, 150 nonfarm and 400 farm. We do not know the proportion of farm and nonfarm families in the villages and open country. We have only the 1940 census and now it is 1946—a period following World War II—in which there

has been much shifting of population. We have materials such as the 1945 census of agriculture (only a limited amount of material is now available from this census), it is true, to help bring the picture up to date. However, the material available is insufficient. Therefore, in getting our sample of farm and nonfarm families (we do not know how many of each the villages and open country will yield), we must play safe and break our sample into several successive samples, each of which is again a random sample. Successive sampling necessitates quite careful control in the field in order to prevent waste of time or travel.

A disadvantage in using successive samples is that the first small random sample is likely to yield all the desired cases of the most frequent groups, and if all the frequent groups come from the first sample, they will be much more homogeneous with respect to the period covered than the less frequent groups cooperating in later samples. Variability of the less frequent groups attributed to income and occupation might actually be due to price changes occurring while the study is in progress.

The fourth problem which I will mention in connection with sampling in family economics studies is the measurement of the reliability of the sample. Measurements of reliability have to do with fluctuations due to random sampling. Any random sample, no matter how carefully selected, tends to differ to some degree in its composition from the composition of the whole body of data from which it is selected. The size of this chance variation depends on homogeneity of the population and on the size of sample. A large sample is more likely than a small sample to include all the significant characteristics of the universe in question, if the method of sampling has been truly random in both cases. However, neither the actual size of the sample nor the size of its probable error necessarily guarantees its representativeness.⁹

Since the composition of the whole group is not known, representativeness of the sample must be tested by empirical methods. Some of the empirical methods commonly used are: (1) Examining for internal consistency. For example, are certain expected regularities noted; is higher income associated, in general, with larger

⁹ Lundberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-157.

acreage and/or more livestock? (2) Examining for reasonableness of totals when the sample estimates are expanded to population estimates, for example, county total on population; (3) Comparison of as many items as possible with other studies. Discrepancies should be explainable.

It is not to be inferred from the foregoing

discussion that there are grounds for discouragement or that the situation is entirely hopeless with regard to attaining useful accuracy. The accuracy needed depends on the objective. If when the survey is complete, it helps to provide a rational basis of action, it has accomplished its purpose.

PERSONALITY NEEDS AND MARITAL CHOICE

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TWO kinds of linkage between marital choice and personality needs have been formulated by social psychologists.

(1) Personality needs are a direct outgrowth of early childhood affectional relationships with one or both parents: the mate fills either the same needs for the individual as were previously filled by a parent, or he fills those needs that a parent left unsatisfied.¹ (2) Needs are not merely an outgrowth of early affectional relationships with parents; experiences in school, on the job, with friends, and so on, may have been as crucially important for developing the person's needs. Thus the person may choose a mate to fill certain needs whose development may be less directly linked with early childhood experiences with parents.²

Research bearing upon both aspects of the general theory concerning effect of personality needs upon marital choice has been largely psychoanalytic and clinical. There have been no statistical studies testing the theory. Investigation of details of this influencing of choice is also lacking.

The present paper is the outcome of an attempt to check, through both statistical and interview data, the general theory. Statistical data were gathered from a group of 373 engaged or recently-married persons (200 women, 173 men). These

persons filled out a detailed questionnaire concerning their needs and their mates. Interview data were collected from 50 engaged or recently-married women. Other characteristics of the population were: the group was, roughly, in its twenties; of college level; white; American; with at least one of the couple residing or having resided in the Chicago metropolitan area. The findings reported in this paper have application, perhaps, only to this kind of population.

NEEDS OF GREATEST FREQUENCY

The questionnaire included a lengthy list of emotional needs. Persons were asked to check those they felt were their major needs. Table 1 presents data bearing on the 10 most frequently listed needs.³

INFLUENCE OF PERSONALITY NEEDS ON MARITAL CHOICE

Statistical evidence supported the hypothesis that the person's major personality needs may influence his choice of a marriage partner.

The following was the procedure used to check this hypothesis. Each person was presented with a list of emotional needs and requested to underline those needs he felt were his *major* needs. Further along in the questionnaire, each individual was presented with an identical list of needs and asked to check for each whether the marriage partner filled it "very much," "considerably," "a little," "not at all," or "opposite." Each questionnaire-return was separately examined. Only those needs were counted which had been checked as

¹ Cf. H. Blueher, "The Choice of a Mate and Marriage," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 8 (1921), p. 101; E. W. Burgess and L. Cottrell, *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage*, (New York, 1939), p. 345.

² Cf. R. Dreikurs, "The Choice of a Mate," *International Journal of Individual Psychology*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (1930), pp. 12, 102-3, 108; E. R. Groves, *Marriage*, rev. ed. (New York, 1941), pp. 117-8; O. Ohmans, "The Psychology of Attraction," in H. Jordan (ed), *You and Marriage*, (New York, 1942), pp. 14-16, 24.

³ Whether persons choose persons having the same major needs as themselves was also tested. Data indicated that a mate having the same major needs is not necessarily chosen.

major needs. If the mate was checked as filling the need to a degree of "very much" one point was recorded. Thus if a man had indicated five major needs and his fiancée satisfied all five "very much," he received a total score of all five points. But if the fiancée satisfied only three needs "very much," then the man received a total score of only three points. With this method of rating, it was possible to give each individual a rating for how well the marriage partner filled major needs.

Eighteen and one-tenth percent of the persons had needs extremely well satisfied by their mates.⁴ Twenty-seven and seven-tenths percent had their needs very incompletely satisfied by their mates.⁵

Further plausible evidence that major needs influence choice is that very few persons judged

of choice by personality needs occurs; and suggested how different persons in childhood undergo very different emotional experiences so that they develop needs for very different kinds of psychological satisfactions. Consequently the concrete fashion that these diverse needs enter into selection of a mate will differ greatly.

While the number of documents analyzed was too small to yield a satisfactory classification of types of personality need influencing, certain kinds were brought out. These included the following: Marital choice influenced by needs (1) for attention and prestige derived from family affectional relationships; (2) for affection and response derived from family and schoolmate relationships; (3) for acceptance and approval derived from school experiences; (4) for attention

TABLE 1
NEEDS LISTED ACCORDING TO FREQUENCY OF DESIGNATION AS MAJOR NEEDS

MAJOR NEED	TOTAL BOTH SEXES		MALE		FEMALE	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
For someone who loves me	170	9.8	63	9.3	107	10.1
For someone to confide in	137	7.9	53	7.9	84	7.9
For someone who shows me a lot of affection	112	6.4	36	5.3	76	7.1
For someone who respects my ideals	97	5.6	45	6.7	52	4.9
For someone who appreciates what I want to achieve	97	5.6	49	7.3	48	4.5
For someone who understands my moods	95	5.5	40	5.9	55	5.2
For someone who helps me in making important decisions	91	5.2	26	3.9	65	6.1
For someone to stimulate my ambition	88	5.1	46	6.8	42	4.0
For someone I can look up to very much	86	5.0	28	4.2	58	5.5
For someone who gives me self-confidence in my relations with people	82	4.7	34	5.0	48	4.5

any rival (i.e. person liked next best to preferred mate) as satisfying major needs better than had the mate. Only 8.0 percent of the population appraised some other person as having satisfied their needs better than had the actual mate. As high a percentage as 89.2 appraised no other person of opposite sex as having filled major needs better than had the mate.

TYPES OF PERSONALITY NEED INFLUENCE

Interview documents brought out the great diversity of processes by which the influencing

⁴ "Extremely well satisfied" was the label assigned when 90-100 percent of major needs were satisfied by mate to a degree "very much."

⁵ "Very incompletely satisfied" was the label assigned when 0-60 percent of major needs were satisfied by mate to less than "very much."

and affection derived from family and schoolmate relationships; (5) for trust and sympathy derived from family and schoolmate relationships; (6) for security and response derived from adolescent experiences; (7) derived from a critical emotional experience in early adult life.

It is probable that there are many more kinds of personality need influence playing upon marital choice. The above instances suggest merely the wealth of concrete human contexts within which it can be said that needs affect selection of a marriage partner.

Brief synopses of three cases illustrating types of personality need influence will be presented, since it is not feasible in a short paper to present the lengthy documents themselves. These synopses should give also some insight into how needs enter into the process of choosing a mate.

Marital choice influenced by needs for attention and prestige derived from family affectional relationships. This woman recognized strong desires within her to be complimented, paid attention to, noticed, admired. The development of these desires was traced to her early childhood affection relationships. As a child she looked like a pretty doll, so she was dressed to look the part and exhibited to the accompaniment of plaudits from relatives and neighbors. Consequently the girl grew to think of herself as someone to be admired and paid attention to. Later these deep needs for attention, prestige, and admiration played a part in her selection of a mate. That this is so is suggested by the way the husband's treatment of her is pictured. He pays her an "extremely lot" of attention; she is the center of his world; he compliments her continually; he makes a fuss over her. "In every way" her husband gives her prestige and sees that others give it too, for he thinks she is "God's gift to the world."

Marital choice influenced by needs for trust and sympathy, derived from family and schoolmate relationships. Deep-seated needs for sympathy and trust may develop in a person who has been preoccupied with obtaining these from a disturbing and somewhat hostile environment. One woman noted that as a child she was at home always being misunderstood and laughed at. The emotionally unsatisfying character of her familial relationships is pointed to by her intense competition with her mother for the father's and brother's affections. At school she was "lonely without friends." What she always wanted but did not get was trust, sympathy, affection, companionship, encouragement. Later in life she chose a marriage partner who never criticizes, who has "complete" belief and trust in her, who is sympathetic, companionable, encouraging. He represents the fulfilling of certain of the woman's basic needs.

Marital choice influenced by needs derived from a critical emotional experience in early adult life. A critical emotional experience in the life of the person may affect her emotional needs; and these needs may play a role in her choice of a marriage partner. One woman suffered from the shock of a broken engagement, becoming lonely, lost, dejected, and disinterested in social life. This state of mind continued, she reported, rather unbroken for nine years. Finally she was persuaded by her family to go out again with men, but she did not enjoy herself. Finally she met and married a man who "just seemed

to give me everything I craved; he just seemed to answer all my questions." He is characterized as jolly, easy-going, patient, thoughtful, as knowing how to bring her out of her "moods." One who was lonely, depressed, and lost for so long could well do with a mate who would help counteract such a state; who would make her feel wanted, and the center of his congenial life.

The above brief synopses of types of personality need influence should serve to give some indication of the great wealth of concrete human contexts within which it can be said that personality needs affect selection of a marriage partner. They suggest, too, that these needs may derive not only from early childhood affectional experiences with parents but also from later experiences outside the family.

LINKAGE OF PERSONALITY NEEDS WITH OTHER FACTORS IN THE PROCESS OF MARITAL SELECTION

Personality needs may be linked with another factor or factors in affecting selection of a mate.

The person's personality needs may work together intimately with his ideal conception of a mate⁶ in the course of his choosing a mate. One woman interviewed has, for example, strong needs for acceptance and approval which rose largely out of her childhood school environment where the girl had always been a lonely outsider. She told of admiring always certain boys from afar—these boys to her were unapproachable and unobtainable; they never accepted or liked her. Later when the woman chose her marriage partner he was this kind of man, the kind that had appealed to her all through school. He had "the same characteristics I've always admired and that I've sort of looked for in everybody—whether boys or girls." The man chosen personified the woman's ideal and seemed to her to satisfy her felt needs.

The chief type of relationship apparent between personality-needs and ideal was of the following kind. The person has a certain set of emotional experiences, usually beginning when she was a child, which have developed in her the need for

⁶ This term has reference to the image or images which a person of marriageable age may have of the kind of person he would like to marry. In common speech this image is called a "dream-man," "dream-girl," "notions I had in the back of my mind," "my ideal," and so on.

certain psychological necessities: recognition, approval, gentle consideration, emotional support, and the like. Whether consciously or unwittingly sought, these psychological necessities enter into the girl's anticipations of married life. Her marital hopes, expectations, and dreams are affected by the character of her basic personality needs and cravings. As such, if the girl should happen to formulate her hopes and expectations into an "ideal" or a "dream man," such an ideal might well be anticipated to be linked intimately with her major personality needs. The needs serve as a psychological background against which marital ideals can be formulated.

Another factor with which personality needs may be linked in the process of marital selection is the person's parent-images.⁷ For example it was evident from the account of one woman that she had as a child derived deep needs for

attention and prestige from the adoring and attentive way her mother had treated her. She grew up needing these psychological requisites from her adult world. Later she received them from her husband; he in turn playing a role in her adult affectional life similar to that played by the mother in the earlier years—both lavishing much obvious attention upon her.

The relationship between personality needs and parent-images, pointed to by analysis of interview data, is substantially one where the child experiences certain affectional relationships with its parents. They act toward him in certain ways and he comes therefore to expect certain kinds of action toward himself. Some children expect from a father much flattery and adoration. Others may come to expect the support and kindness which they need because it is so conspicuously lacking from other persons in their world. The child's basic needs are likely, then, to develop in interaction with its parents. Parents come to satisfy or frustrate the thus developed needs; so that, for certain people needs and parent-images are genuinely related. Consequently the choice of a marriage partner which is influenced by personality needs is very likely also to be influenced by parent-images.

⁷ This term has reference to the images which the person develops of his parents, deriving largely from childhood affectional relationships experienced with parents. Parent-images have associated with them powerful emotions, since it is in interaction with his parents that the child first learns to experience emotions.

WORKSHOP IN INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

The University of Southern California announces its second summer Workshop in Intercultural Education from June 23 to August 1, 1947. The staff will include Dr. Harvey S. Locke, sociologist; Dr. Tanner G. Duckrey, Negro educator, Philadelphia Public Schools; Mrs. Sybil Richardson, psychologist, Los Angeles County Schools; Mrs. Afton Nance, supervisor, Riverside County Schools, Mrs. Beatrice Krone, music education; Dr. Glen Lukens, art education, The University of Southern California. Mrs. Jane Hood, coordinator, Los Angeles City Public Schools and The University of Southern California, will direct the Workshop.

The Workshop carries six units of graduate credit, and includes a lecture series, Sociology 192, entitled *Racial and Cultural Tensions in America*. The Workshop activities will center about the individual and group problems of the members. Resource leaders from the university staff and the community will serve when needed.

There will be continuous exploration of problems in group relations with emphasis on the means which may be used by leaders in this field for arranging conditions to promote individual growth and group endeavor.

Only through early application can the staff provide maximum assistance to each individual member. Membership in the Workshop is limited to forty. Application should be made to Mrs. Jane Hood, School of Education, The University of Southern California, Los Angeles 7, California, not later than May 15.

RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE NATURE OF RACE RELATIONS

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WHEN we speak of "race relations" what do we mean? I think it will be agreed that it is not always clear what we mean, and that a great deal in this phrase is taken for granted which requires more explicit definition than it usually receives.

"Race relations" represent a form of interaction between certain social groups. In order to clarify the nature of these relations we have to ask and attempt to answer two questions: (1) In what way are the social groups involved in "race relations" distinguished as social groups, and (2) What are the determinants and what is the nature of the specific types of interaction between so-called "racial" groups?

In response to the first question the answer is usually returned that the social groups involved in "race relations" are distinguished by the fact that they belong to recognizable and distinct "races." It is at this point and in virtue of this type of answer, that the first and principal element of confusion is introduced into the subject. Implicit in this type of answer is the belief that biological differences exist between certain groups, called "races," and that these biological differences to a large extent determine the types of interaction which occur in "race relations." As illustrative of this point we may quote Sir Arthur Keith, the distinguished morphologist. He writes "prejudices are inborn; are part of the birthright of every child." These prejudices "have been grafted in our natures for a special purpose—an evolutionary purpose." "They are essential parts of the evolutionary machinery which Nature employed throughout eons of time to secure the separation of man into permanent groups and thus to attain production of new and improved

racess of Mankind." "Nature endowed her tribes with the spirit of antagonism for her own purposes. It has come down to us and creeps out from our modern life in many shapes, as national rivalries and jealousies and as racial hatreds. The modern name for this spirit of antagonism is race-prejudice."¹

This view has it that "races" exist in order that prejudices shall operate among human groups to produce conflicts between them. In this way, it is alleged, by "competition" between such groups Nature (spelled with a capital "N") secures the survival of the fittest, and the perpetuation of "new and improved races of mankind." In the name of such a view of "race relations," the extermination, suppression, disenfranchisement, segregation of and discrimination against other racial groups is held to be not only permissible but even necessary and obligatory. And this is called "competition" between such groups. A kind of competition which in the modern world amounts to tying the hands and feet of your "competitor" and then giving the verdict against him for losing the race which he has been prevented from running.

The biologicistic bias which is associated with the term "race" is implicit in the thinking of most persons about "race relations." Their "race" stereotype, as Walter Lippmann has quoted William James on stereotypes in general, is "a way of substituting order for the great blooming,

¹ Arthur Keith, *The Place of Prejudice in Modern Civilization* (New York: John Day, 1931). These views are repeated in Sir Arthur Keith's latest book, *Essays on Human Evolution* (London: Watts & Co., 1946).

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buzzing confusion of reality."² But what the "biologicistic-race" stereotype, in fact, succeeds in doing is to introduce disorder under the guise of "order," an "order" which leads to disordered conduct and thinking. His belief in the biological foundations of "race prejudice" and in the biological differences between what he esteems to be racial groups gives the ordinary man a mandate for acting perfectly self-righteously as he does. For is it not "natural" so to act? In fact, for the ordinary man, though he may never have analysed them so explicitly, "race relations" mean much the same things as they mean for Sir Arthur Keith.³ In America it is part of the overt cultural pattern for such views to be implemented every day in the firm belief that "races" are unequal and that the "inferior races" must be kept in their place. That might, in fact, serve as a summary definition of the ordinary man's conception of the nature of "race relations," so charmingly expressed by many Southerners in the phrase "The nigras' all right—so long as he keeps in his place," or by others all over America, "Some of my best friends are Jews, but look what happens to real estate values as soon as you let one settle in your neighborhood."

Persons socialized in an environment in which the emotional and intellectual consequences of such a belief are seen in the everyday behavior of the members of their own group scarcely ever entertain a doubt as to the soundness of the view they thus come to acquire. They function as if nothing could be sounder than their "race" prejudices as guides to their conduct in their relations with certain other persons or groups. There are vast numbers of such people, particularly in the United States, who for the most part are unaware of the fact that there exists or could possibly exist any serious challenge to their views, and, as I can testify from my own experience, it comes as a genuine surprise to many otherwise tolerably well-educated persons to learn that some of their most cherished beliefs concerning the alleged differences which are supposed to exist between various "races" do not have a leg to stand upon.

² Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (1922). New York: Penguin Books (1946), p. 96.

³ For a fuller account and critical examination of Keith's views see M. F. Ashley Montagu, *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race* (2nd ed., New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), pp. 156-179.

Whether they are consciously aware of it or not, most Christian whites in their relations with members of other "races" act towards them not only as if they were different but also as if they were inferior. Whether they ever consciously formulate it or not they act as if they believe the difference and the inferiority to be innately determined. The fact that in many cases there do exist certain obvious biologically determined physical differences renders it very easy to assume that all other observed differences are similarly biologically determined. In this way, a natural justification, as it were, is found for social behavior in "race" relations. The inferior must not be allowed to drag down the superior. The member of the "inferior race" must be "kept in his place."

The manner, then, in which socially recognized groups are distinguished from other types of social groups, is, for the racist, that they are biologically characterized, that is to say, endowed with biological qualities which are said to distinguish each of them in more or less unique ways. The Negro, for example, has a black skin, kinky hair, thick lips, a low intelligence, and tends to be lazy—all traits which are considered undesirable and against which barriers must be erected to prevent their dissemination within the white group. Jews have a white though sallow greasy skin, hooked noses, curly hair (these, of course, are the stereotypes), gesticulate, are very aggressive, unscrupulous in business dealings, and have shrewder or sharper (not "better") brains than gentiles. Hence, barriers must be erected against them because everyone else is at a disadvantage in competition with them and because their social traits are objectionable. Variations upon these two themes of too little and too much are utilized by racists everywhere as providing a basis for the social control of other groups.

It would be a mistake to assume that such a system of beliefs represents nothing more than a notable talent for self-deception, nothing but a system of rationalizations. Many persons, who are not altogether unaware of what they are doing, do indulge in such elaborate rationalizations. But it is important to realize that there are a large number of persons who honestly believe that their racist views are unquestionably sound.

Whether rationalized or otherwise most of us know how fatally strong and dangerous such beliefs are. Those of us who have devoted some time to the study of the "race" problem know

that there is no ground for believing that there exist any significant biologically determined behavioral differences or capacities for performance as between the so-called "races" of man. The evidence points, on the other hand, very strongly to the fact that the very real behavioral differences which exist are socially, *not* biologically determined.⁴

A consideration of the evidence strongly suggests that under the conditions of socialization in which all vertebrate groups develop—I am deliberately avoiding the suggestion that it is inherent in such groups—identification with the group of which one is a member is an inevitable process. Children, even at the pre-nursery school age, are already making this identification and distinguishing between persons who belong to their group and those who do not.⁵ The existence of groups is founded upon group solidarity, which is in itself based upon a consciousness of kind or identification, and certain feelings of tension and insecurity in the presence of other groups are, at least in human societies, under the usual conditions of social development, inevitable. Human beings grow to be dependent upon the familiar and tend to feel insecure in the presence of the unfamiliar, the strange, and the unlike. That is basically why men tend to cling to their own group. Membership in a group ministers to man's basic need for security; it satisfies his dependency needs. In that respect his own group is superior to all others, and the existence of other groups which may impinge upon the integrity of his own is taken to be, at least, a potential threat to his own security. The very fact that another group differs from his own is often, in the presence of such a group, sufficient to engender a feeling of insecurity in the individual. Such feelings are easily turned into anxiety and hostility toward the outgroup, and where the devices which may serve as the vehicles for such hostility are already at hand they are easily turned into group prejudice. "Differences are emphasized because they offer the readiest rationalization for defense against real or fancied dangers. It is easiest to detect the enemy when certain qualitative differences mark

him; it is easier to attack him when these differences are readily pointed out."⁶

Now, the point I wish to make here is that in the development of such group prejudices there is nothing inherent. There is no such thing in man as biologically determined group antagonism, or in terms of popular belief, there is no instinctual basis for such prejudices, and that under a sensible socialization process such prejudices need never appear. These prejudices do, in fact, appear because human beings are taught group exclusivity, because they are taught by the continuous reinforcement of example and precept that they belong to a group which is both different and superior to others. They are taught to take pride in their own group, to regard themselves as members of an ingroup. Under such conditions group prejudice is inevitable. Group prejudice becomes a culturally sanctioned force, handed on from one generation to another, specifically directed against members of outgroups physically or culturally different. Such group prejudice represents a biased non-logical attitude based on erroneous judgments and held as final by the subject.

Realizing and understanding this we may perceive that it would be quite possible in the socialization of the person to produce a sympathetic appreciation of the value of other groups and to eliminate all feelings of insecurity and anxiety in the presence of such groups. This appears to have been achieved in the Union of Soviet Republics.⁷ There is no reason to think that it could not be achieved everywhere else in the world were the will to do so but present. It is a job that enlightened educators must in increasing numbers take in hand.

Another important aspect of race relations to which I should like to draw attention, is that "race relations" are essentially of the nature of class and caste relations, a special case of so-called "race relations."

In lands, for example, in which class distinctions are well marked and there exist no significantly

⁴ Fred Brown, "A Socio-psychological Analysis of Race Prejudice," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 27, (1932-33), pp. 364-374, 394.

⁷ Bernhard J. Stern, "Soviet Policy on National Minorities," *American Sociological Review*, 9 (1944), pp. 229-235. See also Louis Levene, "Where Anti-Semitism is a Crime," *Soviet Russia Today*, 15 (1946), pp. 14-15, 31-32.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 8-16.

⁵ Ruth Horowitz, "Racial Aspects of Self Identification in Nursery School Children," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, (1939), pp. 91-99.

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large ethnic groups other than the dominant national population, group prejudice assumes the form of class prejudice. There is hardly any difference between class prejudice and race prejudice. Almost every condition found in the one is to be encountered in the other, even down to the imputed biological differences.⁸ The upper classes make much of "breeding," of "good stock" or "birth" or "ancestry," and will not generally marry out of their class or "quality." To marry out of one's class is to lose caste, not only socially but also "biologically," for such a person's children can belong only to the class of the "inferior" parent. There are, of course, exceptions, but this is the rule, a rule which is strictly applied to women, but much less strictly to men. The upper class male generally elevates the woman he chooses to marry to his own class; the lower class male generally reduces his wife and children to his own class. The "biology" and stratification of the classes are patrilineally determined, that is to say, they operate through and in favor of the male line. This is not the case where ethnic crossing is concerned, and it constitutes one of the few differences between the workings of class and "race" prejudice. Thus, for example, should an upper class white male marry a Negroid female, the offspring will, in the United States, at least, belong to the class of the mother, not to that of the father's family.

It should be clear that in societies in which there is an extreme division of men into classes whose interests are necessarily opposed and in which the means of earning a living, the economic system, is organized upon an extremely competitive basis, there will be abundant opportunities for class or "race" antagonisms.

It is methodologically and from the practical viewpoint useful to understand that "race" prejudice is, in fact, a special case of class prejudice, a prejudice that will be developed under certain conditions where different ethnic groups are thrown together in significant numbers. In the absence of such conditions or in the absence of a variety of ethnic groups the prejudices of the upper classes against all members of the lower classes and their

conduct towards the members of all such classes will, in almost every respect, take the form which is usually associated with "race" prejudice. Wherever classes exist, there exists class prejudice. It is significant that in a classless society, such as is comprised by the Soviet Republics, "race" prejudice is said to be non-existent. In socially stratified class societies the shift from class prejudice to "race" prejudice is very easily achieved and, in fact, amounts to little more than the change of names, for the "race" against which prejudice is now especially focussed is but another class or caste, even though it may be regarded as something substantially different.

A class differs from a caste in that a greater degree of social mobility is, in all respects, permitted between the members of the upper and the lower social classes than is permitted between castes. The class is dynamic, the caste static. A caste is a specific, socially limited status group. The function of the limiting factors of caste are, in effect, primarily to create barriers against sexual relations between members of the hegemonic caste and those of the "inferior castes," and, secondarily, to regulate the social status, privileges, and social mobility of the members of the "inferior castes."

A recent writer has attempted to show that "race relations" are not caste relations, and for this purpose he assumes that Brahminic-Indian society represents the only developed caste system in the world.⁹ This seems to me an extraordinarily wrong-headed view to take and nothing short of astonishing when the author declares that he does not know of any sociologist who relies, for his criteria of caste relationship, on any other than the Brahminic-Indian caste system. On the other hand, I don't know of any sociologist who does! The criteria which most sociologists take for the recognition of caste relationships are those which I have stated in the definition given above. No one, so far as I know, ever intended to say that the details of caste relations in the United States, for example, operate exactly as they do in India. In point of fact there is a very close similarity, but there are very definite differences in detail. The caste system in India represents but one form of caste relations, other forms of caste relations prevail elsewhere in the world, and it only adds to the confusion to make such arbitrary claims as

⁸ For a brilliant discussion of this subject see Lancelot Hogben's chapter "Race and Prejudice" in his *Dangerous Thoughts* (New York: Norton, 1940), pp. 44-58. See also Richard H. Tawney, *Equality* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1931)

⁹ Oliver C. Cox, "Race and Caste: A Distinction," *American Journal of Sociology*, 50 (1945), pp. 360-368.

that the Indian caste system is the type which must be exemplified by all other caste systems if these latter are to be recognized at all.

Mr. Cox, the writer referred to, notes that "caste has reference to the internal order of a society; race suggests a whole people, wherever found about the globe."¹⁰ Is that, indeed, all that "race" suggests? I rather think that it suggests a great deal more. Does it not also suggest a mode of behavior toward that people wherever it may be found upon the earth? Whenever the internal order of one group enters into interaction with another, are not such forms of behavior likely to be essentially of the nature of caste relations? Mr. Cox goes on to say "A people in actual world dispersion will not conceive of themselves as members of a caste."¹¹

That is precisely where Mr. Cox demonstrates the fallacy of his argument, and he does so in other places at greater length. He feels that unless caste behavior is actually explicitly recognized and structured within a society, given definite names, and fully recognized for what it is, then a caste system does not exist. In that sense we certainly do not have a caste system in the United States, but in the light of actual social functioning between different ethnic groups we most certainly do have a caste system in the United States, even though it may overtly go unrecognized as such. We simply call our caste system, which is made up for the most part of our fears and anxieties, "race relations." The rigidity of our caste system varies from virtual completeness in the South to a somewhat looser organization in the North and elsewhere, but the assignment of roles and the maintenance of endogamous barriers tends to be as strongly enforced as it is in India.¹²

The point surely is that certain so-called minority groups, particularly the Negro in the United States, are treated as if they were members of an inferior caste, and in their particular case "race" is made a basis for the distinction. Germans, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Scandinavians, and others

are erroneously conceived to be "races," but members of these nations or so-called "races" are rarely treated as if they were members of an inferior caste.¹³ The fact is that Negroes are so treated. I think it is a clarification, not an obfuscation, of the nature of "race relations" to recognize that fact. It is certainly not that Negroes regard themselves as members of a caste, but that from the point of view of other social groups they are so regarded in terms of the conduct and controls which are exhibited in relation to them.

Furthermore, in terms of social relations there can be only class and/or caste relations. "Race" can serve only as a sign, within any given society, for the exhibition of certain forms of behavior. Whatever one may call this behavior it is certainly not race behavior in the sense in which "race" is commonly understood. There is no biological determinant in it of any kind, and it is the nature of that implication concerning which it is desirable to be clear, and in its unclear form to avoid when considering the nature of "race relations." And where such relations are actually in the nature of caste relations that fact should be clearly and explicitly recognized. "Race," let us remember, in the words of the late unlamented Benito Mussolini, in his pre-racist days, "is a feeling, not a reality." And if groups are treated as if they were castes let us clearly recognize that fact whether or not such castes correspond to some paradigmatic form or not.

The important point to grasp, and this cannot be too often or too emphatically repeated, is that "race relations" are not biological relations but social relations. The so-called race problem is not a biological problem, it is a social problem, and as such it does not even present any socially relevant biological problems. "Race" is a term for a state of mind which is created by certain types of special social conditions, and it is most definitely not a state of mind created by the fact that some persons have white skins while others have black. It is rather that under certain social conditions skin color becomes a socially relevant fact. It is that a socially determined state of mind under certain unfortunate conditions gives rise to social relations between ethnic or so-called minority groups and certain more powerful groups, which are essentially of the nature of caste relations.

In the social context of America, to take a familiar example, those groups which are referred to as "races" are usually treated as if they were

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 363.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 363.

¹² For a criticism of Mr. Cox's views see Norman D. Humphrey, "American Race Relations and the Caste System," *Psychiatry*, 8 (1945), pp. 379-381.

¹³ Except in certain local areas, but not throughout the United States as a whole, as is the case with the Negro.

castes. Negroes, Jews, Mongoloids, and Indians are in actual practice treated by the dominant white groups as if they were members of specific lower castes. A more or less distinct caste order is even recognizable, Negroes being at the bottom of the caste system ("The white man's floor is the Negro's ceiling") while Mongoloids and Indians stand somewhere between these and the Jews, with the Christian whites arranging themselves in a variety of superior castes, based for the most part on lineage or family, religion, generations of inherited wealth, fame, influence, and similar factors. Compared to the Brahminic-Indian caste system, that which exists in the United States is somewhat less rigidly organized, but that it exists there cannot be the least doubt.

To our first question, then, we may reply that the social groups involved in "race relations" are distinguished as such in that they are treated as if they were more or less distinctively recognized as having a specific caste status.

To our second question we may reply that the determinants and nature of the specific types of interaction between so-called racial groups are entirely social in nature and have nothing whatever to do with biological factors of any kind.

When men wish to exploit the members of certain other groups they can justify the implementation of their desires by calling the groups they exploit "inferior." And they can do so in what they believe to be perfectly good faith and reason.

To my mind the outstanding example of this type is represented by the late Professor Karl Pearson. Pearson was a man of great distinction of mind, unusual breadth of learning, and considerable humanity. He was one of the greatest anthropologists of our time. Nevertheless, in his great book *The Grammar of Science*, he could write at the beginning of this century in the following terms: "It is a false view of human solidarity, a weak humanitarianism, not a true humanism, which regrets that a capable and stalwart race of white men should replace a dark-skinned tribe which can neither utilize its land for the full benefit of mankind, nor contribute its quota to the common stock of human knowledge." And in a footnote to this Pearson adds "This sentence must not be taken to justify a brutalizing destruction of human life. The anti-social effects of accelerating the survival of the fittest may go far to destroy the preponderating fitness of the survivor. At the same time there is cause for human

satisfaction in the replacement of the aborigines throughout America and Australia by white races of far higher civilization."¹⁴ Well might Alice James, in 1890, remark upon "the profound irreconcilable conviction" of the English "that outlying regions are their preserves, for they alone of human races massacre savages out of pure virtue."¹⁵

If racism had not already existed the age of imperialism would have been forced to invent it.¹⁶ When certain social groups feel obliged to behave toward certain groups of men in a manner which their moral teaching forbids, they can—and do—easily say that such human beings do not really belong to the class of mankind to which such teachings apply. As Professor Howard W. Odum has recently pointed out, the southern view with respect to the Negro may be summed up in the statement that the Negro's place is outside the common brotherhood of mankind.¹⁷ When the pro-slavers had quoted at them the text from *Exodus* 21: 15, "And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death," and many others like it, it provoked the reply that the Negro was not a man from the standpoint of those who wished to maintain the slave trade and the institution of slavery. Or, granting that he was a man, he was an inferior type of man whose proper place in relation to the white man was one of subordination. The doctrine of white supremacy was a deliberate invention, it has become for many an article of faith, and it has been generalized to involve other ethnic and minority groups all over the world.

¹⁴ Karl Pearson, *The Grammar of Science* (2nd ed., London, 1900; Revised reprint, Everyman Library, New York: Dutton & Co., 1937), p. 310.

¹⁵ Alice James. Edited by A. R. Burr (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1934), p. 138.

¹⁶ Hannah Arendt, "Race-Thinking Before Racism," *Review of Politics*, 6 (1944), pp. 36-73. Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought 1860-1915* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944).

¹⁷ "Why was southern conduct, then [in the year 1942-43] so contrary to all preaching and principles which, without a peradventure of doubt, were sincere? Why didn't the tenets of fellowship and Christian religion hold here? The only answer was that the Negro did not come within the framework of human brotherhood." Howard W. Odum, *Race and Rumors of Race* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943), p. 23.

Such views are social in origin and social in their consequences, and what is more they have, in the United States at least, become institutionalized in that definite forms of behavior are prescribed in relation to such ethnic and minority groups. In thirty out of the forty-eight states of this great Union marriage between Negroes and whites is illegal.¹⁸ In the state of Mississippi it is a punishable offense to publish any statement to the effect that the Negro is or should be the social equal of the white.¹⁹ No Negro in the United States is free to live or work as the white man is. The white man's floor, it is held, must remain the Negro's ceiling. Possessed of all the necessary qualifications, very few Negroes are free to enter any institution of learning which is open to the whites. He may not enter hotels, restaurants, places of amusement, public vehicles, and so on, either at all or except under very definite restrictions. As one Negro leader recently put it: "We are the unwanted people and I mean practically every Negro is unwanted practically everywhere. Most of the good things that are said and done in America are not meant for us Negroes. Thousands of preachers talk of brotherhood, but they don't mean brotherhood with Negroes—not in most churches. Orators say all men are created equal, but they don't mean equality in houses, jobs, schools, or transportation for Negroes... the more the Negro tries to rise and be a good, useful American, the more he is pushed down."²⁰

And yet there are some who assert that the Negro is not treated as if he were a member of a

caste, that he does not belong to a distinct and inferior caste in America!

It is not organic conditions which make whites behave in this way toward Negroes, but social conditions. In all so-called "race relations" the relations are determined by social not by organic conditions, and that is, of course, where the very real hope lies for the future. What is produced by social conditions can be changed by socially instrumental conditions, and if only a sufficient number of us keep working away at it I am confident that "racism" will one day be regarded as one of the major aberrations of an early stage in our social development. As a reviewer of my book on race has put it: "My own guess is that posterity will view the racism of our time much as we view the witchcraft of the seventeenth century. Then there were many who blindly believed in witchcraft, and others who felt that there must be at least something to cause such widespread belief. It was hard then for men to believe that all this was pure error; just as it is hard now for men to believe that about racism. But I can see no essential differences between witchcraft and racism as nonsense."²¹

Early conditioning in infancy and childhood, frustrations suffered at all ages, the development of basic insecurities which our society is so fertile in producing, the need to find some outlet for unexpended aggression, scapegoatism, economic insecurity and rivalry, political and industrial exploitation, the American credo of successful achievement in terms of material values, and the essential lack of maturity which characterizes the American adult personality, are conditions which not only determine the relations between different groups but also between different persons of the same group. All these conditions are sources of interpersonal conflict and of group hostilities, and until they are replaced by functionally more equilibrated forms of motivation we shall never be rid of such conflicts and hostilities. And I am afraid that nothing short of a complete reorganization of the ideals of our society will achieve this.

¹⁸ Ashley Montagu, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-267.

¹⁹ Mississippi, 1930 Code Ann., sec. 1103: "Any person, firm or corporation who shall be guilty of printing, publishing or circulating printed, typewritten or written matter urging or presenting for public acceptance or general information, arguments or suggestions in favor of social equality or of intermarriage between whites and negroes, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and subject to a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars or imprisonment not exceeding six months or both fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court."

²⁰ Reported in *The Christian Science Monitor* (2nd ed., June 12, 1945), p. 11.

²¹ Bookwright, in review of *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race*, *New York Herald Tribune Weekly Book Review*, (August 12, 1945), p. VI.

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NOTES ON CLAY AND STARCH EATING AMONG NEGROES IN A SOUTHERN URBAN COMMUNITY

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DIRT eating or geophagy has been mentioned in the anthropological literature and its existence has been reported from many parts of the world.¹ Although the South has been one of the areas in which dirt or clay eating has occurred, there is only one article in the recent scientific literature on dirt eating among Southern Negroes,² but this article contains no mention of starch-eating.

The existence of dirt and starch eating in North Carolina first came to the attention of the investigator through her work with Negro unmarried mothers.³ Many of these women spoke of having eaten dirt, while others were acquainted with this custom. All of them referred to it without embarrassment. Those who had eaten it agreed that "it tasted real good," if one had "good dirt," i.e. clay which is smooth and not gritty. A few women preferred laundry starch, while those who ate neither one justified their abstinence either by a dislike of the taste or by the fear of "dirt tumors"

With this general information as a background, further interviews with members of the Negro community were sought in order to obtain additional understanding of this custom. Conversations with Negro nurses and social workers soon revealed the widespread existence of this custom. Clay, for instance, is sold in paper bags, ready for consumption, in at least one of the large tobacco factories. A bag of "good dirt," costing 15 to 25 cents, contains about four to six pieces of clay of about one to two inches in diameter.

In the factory the older women are reported to eat clay more frequently than the younger ones, but many of these also indulge in the habit. There is no particular time during the life of a person

when clay eating is started. Some are taught by their mothers, while others begin eating clay during pregnancy "because they get a craving for it." One woman started eating clay after having taken aspirin which to her "tasted like dirt"; knowing that many people in the neighborhood ate dirt, she began nibbling it occasionally.

The clay has to be of a particular quality found only in certain clay-banks. It is usually of a grey color, sometimes with a few reddish streaks. The investigator obtained samples of the clay sold in the factory, and of that found in a well-known clay bank in town. The samples were analysed by Dr. Berry, of the department of Geology, Duke University. He described the former sample as a yellowish grey kaoline-like clay which contains a little subanular quartz, coal fragments, and a little ileminite. The other sample was described as grey clay which, however, was not essentially different from the first sample.

The clay is usually not eaten at the clay bank, although there is some mention of people having eaten the clay at the "dirt-hole." Generally the clay is first baked in the oven to dry it thoroughly. When taken out of the oven, the clay is extremely hard, and has to be broken with a hard instrument.

Pieces of this clay are occasionally nibbled on, but sometimes larger amounts are eaten at one time. The clay has a sour, acid-like taste which draws the mouth together. The feel of the clay in the mouth is rather dry, crunchy, and chalk-like, and the smoother the clay or the less gritty the better it is liked.

The relationship between starch and dirt eating is illustrated in the case of a grandmother, mother, and grandson. The grandmother has always eaten clay until a short time ago, while the mother ate clay mainly during her pregnancy. The small son now loves starch but he used to eat clay, which he no longer likes. One day he obtained a box of starch and ate it all.

Clay and starch are not alike in taste. Starch has a sweet, flour-like taste; it is never gritty and leaves no remnant in the mouth. Yet, it may be suggested that the "feel" of starch and clay in the mouth is quite similar. Both feel dry and somewhat crunchy. A Negro nurse observed that "starch is supposed to have a clean taste, while

¹ Berthold Laufer, *Geophagy*, (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History—Anthropological Series, Vol. 18, No. 2, 1930.

² Dorothy Dickins and Robert N. Ford, "Geophagy (Dirt Eating) among Mississippi Negro School Children," *American Sociological Review*, 7 (1942), pp. 59-65.

³ Hilda Hertz, *Negro Illegitimacy in Durham, North Carolina* (Durham, N. C.: M. A. thesis, Duke University, 1944). See also John Gillin, "Custom and Range of Human Responses," *Character and Personality*, 8 (1944), pp. 122-123.

dirt has a gritty taste." The idea that starch is cleaner than dirt was expressed in several interviews and may be a motive for changing from one to the other.

There is no conclusive evidence whether clay eating is more prevalent than starch eating. Both are common, and often various members of a family will adhere to one or the other. A dirt eating mother desired to break her sixteen-year old daughter of the habit of eating a box of starch per day. The mother defended herself by pointing out that she ate dirt only when pregnant and only a little at a time. She explained the fact that she only ate it when pregnant with the saying: "Pregnant women get cravings," while her daughter uses the same explanation for starch eating.

Clay and starch eating appear to be part of the Negro culture, known to many Negroes and participated in by some. The participation in this custom seems to be sex-linked, since no one interviewed could report an adult Negro man who ate either clay or starch. It is therefore the hypothesis of the investigator that clay and starch eating provide satisfaction to individual needs. The evidence suggests that these needs may be manifold and probably vary from the desire to quiet hunger pains to the pleasure of chewing, or to the desire of social approval. A further study of the needs satisfied by these customs might throw light on the question of how cultural patterns are maintained.

1947 REGIONAL MEETINGS

SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY. The tenth annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society will be held in Knoxville, Tennessee, on April 11 and 12, with headquarters at the Andrew Johnson Hotel. The program, prepared by President T. Lynn Smith, of Louisiana State University, will include sections on The Teaching of Sociology with H. C. Brearley, George Peabody College for Teachers, presiding; Sociological Aspects of Health, C. Horace Hamilton, North Carolina State College of the University of North Carolina, presiding; Public Welfare Relations, Belle Boone Beard, Sweet Briar College, presiding; Racial and Cultural Contacts, Morton B. King, University of Mississippi, presiding; Research: Systematic Critiques of Sociological Research in the South, C. Arnold Anderson, University of Kentucky, presiding; Urban Developments in the South, Harlan W. Gilmore, Tulane University, presiding. The general session on Friday night, at which President Smith will preside, will feature Professor E. W. Bruggess, of the University of Chicago, who will speak on The Family and Sociological Research.

EASTERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY. The annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society will be held at the Men's Faculty Club of Columbia University, April 26-27, 1947. Persons wishing to submit reports at the session on current sociological research should submit their papers to the Chairman of the Committee on Research Reports, Professor W. Rex Crawford, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. The officers of the Eastern Sociological Society are: Gladys Bryson, Smith College, President; Robert E. L. Faris, Syracuse University, Vice President; Bernhard J. Stern, Secretary-Treasurer, Columbia University.

MICHIGAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY. The program of the society's spring meeting, March 21, at Ann Arbor, as announced by Dr. Alfred McClung Lee, Wayne University, president, follows: Dr. Solon T. Kimball, Michigan State College, chairman of morning session; Linwood Hodgdon, Dr. C. R. Hoffer, and Dr. Edgar Schuler, Michigan State College, "Medical Needs of Rural Communities"; Dr. Rupert C. Koeninger, Central Michigan College of Education, "An Experiment in Intercultural Education"; Dr. Stephen W. Mamchur, Wayne University, "Nationality Movements Among American Minorities." Panel discussion under chairmanship of Dr. Leonard C. Kercher, Western Michigan College of Education, on "Services of Sociology in International Affairs," participated in by Dr. Robert Cooley Angell, University of Michigan, Dr. Edward C. Jandy, Wayne University, and Dr. Charles P. Loomis, Michigan State College. Dr. Theodore M. Newcomb, University of Michigan, chairman of afternoon session; Dr. Rensis Likert, University of Michigan, "Some Problems Involved in the Use of Sample Surveys"; and Dr. George Katona, University of Michigan, "Sociological Study of Economic Behavior."

OHIO VALLEY SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY. According to the minutes of the Executive Committee, The Ohio Valley Sociological Society will hold its spring meeting on April 25 and 26 at its usual meeting place—the Ohio State University campus in Columbus, Ohio. The Committee decided to conduct a survey of research in progress or recently completed and to build the program so far as possible around the research topics that such a survey would reveal. With the exception of the presidential address by Dr. James T. Laing, Kent State University, the papers to be presented at the several sections will be selected from the titles of the research projects sent to Dr. Warren Dunham, program chairman.

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SOCIOLOGY. By Richard T. LaPiere. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1946. 572 pp. \$3.75.

The special difficulty of evaluating an introductory sociology text lies in the variety of approaches to this field professional sociologists legitimately advocate. How shall the beginning course be viewed? As a sweeping survey of "problems"? Or as an abstract system of concepts, either generalized or particularistic? Shall it be a frame of personal reference directing the student toward "learning how to live in society"? Or a pedagogic exercise where he may "learn to think," not necessarily, be it added, about sociology? The reaction of individual sociologists to this beginning text will be as varied as their points of view. Few will not find in the book some excellent expositions of sociological materials, and, regrettably, a great deal that, by any definition, lies outside the field.

Professor LaPiere lays heavy emphasis upon the dynamic character of society and upon the

multiple and interdependent variables which, in his view, underlie all social phenomena. There is no reality in an aggregation of discrete individuals or social facts but only in interaction among them. No social phenomenon is explainable except in terms of a large number of interacting variables the function of each of which changes in accordance with the functions of the others. In short, the premise of functionalism is accepted that objective description demands an emphasis upon the inter-related processual aspects of the things described with attention to origins and growth and dynamic patterns of disintegration and reintegration rather than to structure as a static descriptive frame of inherent value. Functions are meaningless except as existing events, and as such they are subject to measurement and analysis and ultimately to expression in terms of norms. Thus, free from subjective value judgments, they further "the objective of sociology [which], as of any science, is to develop laws of prediction...." (p. 37).

Sociology is divided into four main parts. The first, conceived as an introduction to the field, traces human thought "from folklore to sociology" in a survey too brief and too selective to be of any considerable value to a beginning student; posits a frame of reference for sociological inquiry around the diversity and changeability of society and the concept of multiple causation; and analyzes the relationships of individual and society with emphasis upon the place of the individual as an agent of continuity in the upbuilding of culture.

Part II is concerned with "The Social Determinants," by which are meant "the factors external to the social system itself—the culture, the physical and biological habitats, the population numbers and composition." These are determinants in the sense that they decree the particular conditions to be met by the social structure to insure group survival.

Part III, "The Social Components," attempts an examination of societal dynamics by conceptually stilling the onflowing social process and viewing it as structure. For analytical purposes the systematic operating entity which is society is broken down into three interrelated systems, the technological system (ways of group adjustment to nature); the mental system (knowledge and the ideological elements); and the organizational system (human relationships interpreted primarily in terms of institutional and quasi-institutional forms).

Contrary to more usual arrangement, social groups receive definition and discussion only in the final section, "Social Differentiation," with major emphasis placed upon the concepts of *in-group* and *out-group*. The processes of competition, conflict (which receives heavy stress), accommodation and assimilation are functionally defined in terms of ethnic and race, class, sex, occupational, rural-urban, regional, and national differentiation.

This book may suit the needs of some sociologists well, but a number of faults seem likely seriously to impair its value for the beginning student. This is doubly unfortunate since the step Professor LaPiere has taken in the direction of a more rigorous analysis of empirical data within systematic confines deserves every encouragement.

One fault, perhaps inevitably related to the analytical method adopted, lies in the confusing occurrence and recurrence of topics without their complete development at any single point. The beginning student may be expected to encounter

difficulty in grasping the whole meaning of such concepts as *status* or *urbanization* from the partial descriptions which present these as one element of a particularized sector of the societal whole.

It is doubtful too whether a student will be well grounded in basic sociological materials. Some do not appear at all or only in briefest reference. While social process is inherent in the interactional theme, the term does not appear in the index nor does it receive specific consideration except for a footnote on p. 414 where competition and conflict, previously described (pp. 114-115) as ecological processes among plants and animals, are termed social processes. Park, Reuter and Hart, and other sociologists have preferred to consider competition as sub-social. Conflict is of major importance throughout section IV, but competition, accommodation, and assimilation receive but a few pages each, and cooperation is ignored. Amalgamation as a biological process is not distinguished from assimilation as a social process. Other topics with which students of sociology might be expected to have some familiarity but which do not appear at all are only cursorily treated include community, the field of human ecology and the several ecological processes, social control, and social distance. Again, a competent teacher may be able to make many of these meaningful from the combination of folk and functional definitions which appear in related connections.

There is a persistent use of materials which might make this text more appropriate to a survey of civilization course than to one in sociology. (See particularly Chaps. 5-6 and 9-11.) Citing at random, the student will learn of the data of the physical sciences, the effects of drainage ditches on "natural conditions," of power and metals in industrial life, of the reproductive capacities of plants, of selective breeding, of airborne disease control and the boiling of drinking water, of the rights of quarantine and poisoning of cockroaches, of sterile canning, and of the introduction of the deep keel by the Norsemen; that "large wheels are less inclined to bog down in mud or dust than small ones," that "the bicycle appeared as a sporting device in the 1860's," that "iron tools will rust away unless they are in some way waterproofed," and that "the end of the war left the United States . . . with a vast supply of leftover airplanes." These are perhaps unfairly cited out of context, but they represent an unfortunate tendency to recurrent rapid-fire historical

and technological discursions in which basic sociological principles and concepts become hopelessly lost. They are interesting, but they subordinate the principle to the illustrative material.

Sociologists are likely to find numerous details with which they will quarrel. *Life span* is consistently used where *life expectancy* is intended. "Regionalism" (pp. 473-476) is actually a discussion of conflict of sectional interests. *Rural-urban* represents points on a scale rather than a sharp dichotomy (pp. 470-473). The people of Ireland actually have had one of the highest nuptial birth rates in Europe and have maintained a low crude birth rate by practicing late marriage, not, as implied, by the use of contraception (p. 149). That the early American Puritans "provide excellent examples of social asceticism" (p. 281) is simply one of the uncritically accepted myths the author decries.

The book contains a useful author index in addition to the usual subject index. Citations to recent literature of a wide variety will be noted; and there are special bibliographies on selected topics, to which not all of the references are germane. Some will miss chapter discussion topics and a judicious use of graphic and pictorial aids.

VINCENT H. WHITNEY

Brown University

THE POPULATION OF THE SOVIET UNION. HISTORY AND PROSPECTS. By Frank Lorimer. Geneva: League of Nations, 1946. 289 pp. Paper. (Printed in the U. S. A. by Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J.)

The series of able demographic studies prepared by the Princeton Office of Population Research for the League of Nations is a great contribution to the future of world understanding. Among them, Dr. Lorimer's study of the Russian people, because of the present world-wide interest in its subject, may be expected to reach a larger public than most of the League's official reports.

The opening chapters outline very briefly the demographic history and economic development of the Russian Empire. Although the treatment is perhaps too concise for the average American reader, it gives essential background material and adequate references for further study.

The third chapter covers population changes from the time of the only full Census under the Empire (1897) through the period of war and revolution to 1926, the year of the first and only

complete Soviet Census. By painstaking use of all available material Dr. Lorimer estimates the results of the vast demographic cataclysm of 1915-23. The toll of the Four Horsemen including two million war deaths, more than three million deaths from epidemics (particularly typhus), and over ten million due to famine and civil disorder, rises to an estimated total of sixteen million deaths (civilian and military), over and above those "expected" on the basis of prewar experience. Moreover, it is estimated that there was a loss of two million persons by emigration and of about ten million due to reduction in births. In addition to the actual deficit in population, Soviet Russia faced the future with a generation broken in health, with hordes of homeless waifs and whole villages of widows.

The major part of the book is a very complete analysis of the demographic picture for Russia in 1926 and of the changes which occurred during the constructive period of the Soviet regime from 1926 to 1939. In the latter year, a second Census was taken in place of one initiated in 1936, but never published. Since only two releases from the Census of 1939 had been issued when the war broke out, the bulk of the work rests upon the 1926 figures and related vital statistics.

In chapters IV to VII we have a still picture of those 147 million people who survived the breakdown of their old way of life and the first experimental period of the new Revolutionary folkways. During the years from 1914 to 1926, Russia was often likened by the peasants to a great hive of bees swarming from place to place in search of food and peace. Footprints of peasants in bark-slippers and felt boots, cart tracks, trains with passengers clinging to the roofs and riding the rods covered the whole land of Russia with criss-cross trails. Many of the wayfarers died on the journey and many returned to the region from which they started, as shown in the relatively low number of persons who reported in 1926 that their place of birth was outside the region of residence. The net result of revolutionary migration as shown in Chapter IV is an acceleration of the trek from country to city and a renewed emphasis on the traditional Russian path of internal expansion from the old West to the new East.

Of special interest to sociologists is the review of the Soviet "national minorities" as of 1926 (Chapter V). One of the undoubted achievements of the Revolution was the development of the native culture and economy of minority groups and their

integration into the new pattern of living. The negative side of the treatment of minorities is later shown dramatically in the strange gaps between expected and actual population of certain groups.

Chapter VI shows the beginning of Soviet urbanization, industrialization, and the regional development of the economy up to 1926, while Chapter VIII carries its analysis of trends in occupations and production through the period of forced collectivization, the rise of heavy industry, and the growth of forced labor in forestry, construction, and industry (1926-39). Throughout the study and particularly in these chapters, Dr. Lorimer emphasizes the achievements of the Soviet Government in its struggle against the three major economic problems inherited from the Russian Empire: an undue proportion of the people engaged in agriculture on a very low technological level, retarded industrial development in spite of great natural resources, and an inadequate economic integration of different regions. He points out the drop in the population supported by agriculture, forestry, and fishing from 78 percent in 1926 to 54 in 1939, as well as a three-fold increase in those dependent on all branches of industry, trade, and service (except casual labor and domestic service which show a characteristic decline). The improvement in health conditions and the amazing growth in literacy are also studied in detail. It is unfortunate, however, that the scope of the present study did not permit a fuller analysis of the level of living and of the distribution of population by social classes.

Chapter VII covers regional variations in the pattern of mortality and reproduction as shown in Census figures for 1926. Chapters IX and X, probably the most remarkable in the book, analyze trends of reproduction and migration from 1926 to 1939. Here the statistical data present a vivid picture of the terrible hardships undergone by the Russian people. Dr. Lorimer has presented his data in such lucid form that even the incomplete statistical reports available point directly to the amazing sacrifices and suffering imposed by the Five-Year Plans. For instance, in analyzing the growth of population from 1926 to 1939, he finds an estimated loss of about 5.5 million people. To the reviewers, it seems probable that his estimate is correct, and that these officially uncounted dead were sacrificed to Socialist Construction. The figures on migration and ethnic groups for the period 1926-39 suggest where the loss may have

occurred. There was an estimated deficit of over a million Kazakhs and about 6 million Ukrainians (absolute loss of 3 million). The author explains the loss of Ukrainians by suggesting that many of them may have given their nationality as Russian. It seems that a deficit of this size in Ukrainians, backed by the large gap between actual and expected population of all groups in the Ukraine and an absolute loss of about 4 million in the rural population, points rather to forced collectivization and famine than to assimilation. Moreover, for a Ukrainian to call himself "katsap" (Russian) is usually as unpleasant as for a Southerner to call himself a Yankee.

Dr. Lorimer says that migration within the Soviet Union "has been determined, in the main, by the free adjustment of individuals to variation in economic opportunity, as in other countries" (p. 172). This may be an understatement of the extent of forced migration. In 1926-39, there was a definite trend of migration toward the Urals, Central and East Siberia, the Far East and the Karelian-Murmansk region. All these are precisely the regions where major concentration camps were located. In estimating the increase due to net migration to the Yakutsk ASSR, the author considers the computed increase of 50 percent "surprisingly high for this region" and thinks that his estimates may be in error (p. 165). However, the population of several large concentration camps known to be located in the Yakutsk region (see David Dallin, *The Real Soviet Russia*) may offer a plausible explanation for the increase.

In discussing the amazingly low sex ratio of 1939 (about 87 for the population 15 years old and over), Dr. Lorimer suggests that "during the difficult years of forced collectivization in agriculture and forced industrial expansion, the male population was subject to special hazards and suffered particularly heavy losses" (pp. 141-42). Again, in speaking of mortality during the intercensal period, he notes the staggering depletion of livestock in the Kazakh Republic, which may account for the excess of deaths in this group. The drive for rapid industrialization may have caused excess mortality among dispossessed kulaks and political prisoners only surpassed under the conditions of the impending war (p. 121).

The last chapter presents an interesting hypothesis on the effect of World War II, which gave Russia over 20 million new citizens in annexed territories, but is assumed to have caused an almost equal loss in the population within her

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former borders through 5 million military deaths, 9 million deaths of civilians and a loss of at least 6 million children due to excess infant mortality and reduced fertility. On the basis of improving health facilities and high fertility rates, Lorimer predicts a rapid growth of population in the future. According to his estimate (based on Notestein's figures), the population would have reached 275 million by 1970, had it not been for the War. With adjustment for hypothetical war losses, it should rise to about 244 million.

The prediction of rapid growth may lead to an unjustified fear of Soviet expansion among many peoples. However, it seems to the reviewers that the Soviet program of urbanization, industrial expansion, and collectivization of agriculture, if coupled with a real rise in the level of living and a recession of totalitarian methods, may spread the pattern of declining fertility more rapidly than European experience would suggest. On the other hand, if the totalitarian wastage of human resources is maintained and the reign of fear and insecurity is extended to ever wider segments of the Soviet folk, a certain decline in births and an excess of deaths may be expected in the future. The more fortunate peoples of the world can aid the silent masses of Russia both by generous aid and by setting an example of democratic population practice.

The book includes 76 tables in the text as well as 27 tables in the Appendix which, with its notes on methodology, is of great value both to students of Russia and population in general. The tables are so clear that only one minor defect in arrangement (Table 47, p. 125) was noted in the whole work. In matters of terminology, a question might be raised as to the interchangeable use of terms "age-specific mortality rate" (q_x) and "age-specific death rate" (m_x). (See T. 47, Fig. 20, etc.) Some students will also be confused by the new meaning given to such familiar term as "effective fertility" (p. 123, note). The presentation and interpretation of an enormous mass of statistical data are greatly aided by 31 charts and 22 beautiful maps. The fact that the maps are colored rather than cross-hatched makes for much easier reading and permits simultaneous presentation of two and even more characteristics (some given in color, others presented as bar or pie charts on the same map). The excellent bibliography consists of 512 titles (377 books and articles and 135 official publications). Since most of the material is in Russian, Dr. Lorimer's task was

doubly difficult even with the assistance of very able Russian colleagues.

Perhaps only those who have worked with Soviet statistics can fully appreciate the author's ingenuity and courage, his infinite patience and caution. The book is of great value not only as a contribution to our understanding of the Soviet Union and its population, but as a demonstration of methods and techniques that can transform a mass of incomplete, ambiguous, and contradictory data into a clear and scientific study of population. It should be made available to Soviet officials and statisticians to convince them of the need for full and honest reporting of available statistical material. It will be an indispensable aid to all members of the UNO, and should serve to stimulate higher standards of statistical reporting from all nations.

Dr. Lorimer and his staff have made clear the real achievement of the Soviet Government, while demonstrating the terrific cost of revolutionary change. It can truly be said that they have made statistics speak for the silent.

NADIA DANILEVSKY AND ALICE DAVIS

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POPULATION IN MODERN CHINA. By Ta Chen. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1946. 126 pp. \$2.50.

INDIA'S POPULATION. By S. Chandrasekhar. New York: The John Day Company, 1946. 117 pp. \$2.00.

Seldom does one find two books under different authorship that can be reviewed together more appropriately than these. The two volumes are of approximately the same size, both were published in 1946, and each is concerned with one of the two most populous countries of the Orient and of the world, China and India. Furthermore, the demographic, economic, and social problems in these two countries are in large part similar. Each country has upwards of 400 million people and is beset by the complex problems so familiar in backward agrarian areas: high fertility, high mortality, poverty, illiteracy, and ill health.

Despite the similarity of problems described, however, there are marked differences in the significance, purpose, and character of the two books. For several reasons Ta Chen's book on China affords a more substantial contribution to world demography. In the first place, there is a much greater dearth of demographic data for

China than for India. China has never had a complete census in modern times, whereas India has had a regular decadal census since 1881 and results from the recent ones have been published in great detail. In the second place, Ta Chen's book is in considerable part the result of his own pioneering efforts to initiate and stimulate the collection of demographic data. Chandrasekhar has purported simply to write a brief non-technical book on India's population, largely on the basis of existing data.

After a brief appraisal of China's historical population data, Ta Chen describes a series of official and unofficial experiments in census taking and birth and death registration in his country. The listed experiments, dating back to 1931, are regarded as the beginnings of modern demography in China. The results of these efforts, and particularly the results of the "Kunming Lake region census" of 1942, constitute the chief sources for the analysis of China's population given in succeeding chapters of the book. These analyses relate to age and sex composition; size of family; population density; births, deaths, and marriages; occupations; and migration.

Needless to say, the data for China are far from complete. However, the Kunming Lake region census represents a real milestone, and credit for this undertaking belongs mainly to Ta Chen and his colleagues at the Institute of Census Research at Tsing Hua University. The work of the Institute apparently has stimulated official interest in population problems of China. The author states that "the task of gathering population data is now divided between the Ministry of the Interior and the Directorate of Budgets, Accounts, and Statistics." The latter body, despite wartime conditions, passed a resolution in 1941 recommending that in 1947 plans for a national census should be made. Furthermore, in 1941 the Ministry of Social Affairs appointed a Committee for the Study of Population Policies. This Committee has formulated a set of recommendations (summarized by Ta Chen, pp. 76-77) bearing on policies regarding quantity and quality of population, marriage and family, and migration.

In presenting his analyses, Ta Chen manages quite well to bear in mind the limitations of his data. However, there appear to be a few unwarranted generalizations. Thus the author speaks of "five cycles" of Chinese population from 2 A.D. to the present, based upon historical data showing populations of 59.5 million in 2 A.D., 52.9 million

in 742-756 A.D., 43 million in 1098-1100, 60.6 million in 1573-1620, and an estimated 400 million at present. Again, on the basis of the Kunming Lake results he states: "It seems clear that in China relatively more female [than male] infants are born." He does not appear to be much disturbed by the fact that the opposite situation has been reported for other localities of China, nor by the fact that an excess of male over female births is so universally found in other countries that it is virtually regarded as one of Nature's laws.

Chandrasekhar's book on India was designed as a popular forerunner of a more detailed study promised in the Preface. It has at once the qualifications and disadvantages of a popular book. It is brief, non-technical, and well-written. It affords insights into India that only a native can give. But it is also a somewhat superficial treatment of highly complex problems.

Chandrasekhar's book is divided into three parts: Demographic Fact, Public Health, and Toward a National Population Policy. In the first part the author reviews the population growth in India and the factors underlying it, analyzes the trends of urbanization, and discusses composition with respect to sex, literacy, education, language, religion, occupation, and economic status. From 1881 (when the first regular and fairly complete census was taken) until 1931, there was a systematic alternation between decadal periods of heavy growth and decadal periods of light growth. Thus, according to the author, the "real increase" [after adjustments for inclusion of new areas and improvements in enumeration] over the preceding ten years was 24 million in 1891, 4 million in 1901, 19 million in 1911, 4 million in 1921, and 34 million in 1931. This zigzag nature of the increase is attributed not to any changes in fertility but to the recurrent tolls of famine and disease. The pattern was broken for the first time in census history, however, when the heavy increase during 1921-31 was followed by another heavy increase during 1931-41.

During this latter period India's population increased 50 million, bringing the total population to 389 million. Although this increase is not particularly high on a percentage basis (14.8 percent for the decade), it occurred within a population already characterized by appallingly low levels of living.

In the second part of the book the author gives a gloomy picture of public health conditions in

India. Infant and maternal mortality rates are particularly high. According to the author, one-fourth or more of the population suffers annually from malaria. Tuberculosis is an ever-present menace to health and "India unhappily lives up to its evil reputation of being the most important reservoir of cholera infection in the world."

With reference to population policy, Chandrasekhar appropriately emphasizes first of all the need for improvements in official demographic data for India. He recommends a permanent census department to replace the present system of having a commissioner appointed to conduct each census. Since population problems are so basic to other social and economic problems, he urges (1) the appointment of "a Population Commission composed of demographers, economists, sociologists, statisticians, medical authorities, and social reformers, with wide terms of reference to inquire into the various aspects of this question and recommend a policy for governmental adoption," and (2) the creation of a cabinet post, a "Ministry of Population Affairs." As envisaged by the author, this Ministry might serve to coordinate the work of four bureaus under its charge: A Bureau of Marriage and Eugenics, a Bureau of Growth and Nutrition, a Bureau of Educational and Vocational Guidance, and a Bureau of Special Clinics.

To the reviewer it seems that the proposed policies for both China and India lay too much emphasis on eugenics and population quality. For both countries, it would seem that action on problems of quality might well be postponed until further headway is made in reducing both fertility and mortality rates.

CLYDE V. KISER

Milbank Memorial Fund

ECONOMIC DEMOGRAPHY OF EASTERN AND SOUTHERN EUROPE. By Wilbert E. Moore. Geneva: League of Nations, 1945. 299 pp. \$3.00. (Available from Columbia University Press, New York City.)
POPULATION AND PEACE IN THE PACIFIC. By Warren S. Thompson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946. 397 pp. \$3.75.

Both of these valuable books fall in the field of economic demography, a field in which sociologists are becoming increasingly adept. Each takes the population trends of a region and attempts to cut the economic cloth to fit their increasing proportions. The results are realistic appraisals of expanding populations caught in the stagnant

economies of traditional agriculture and in true colonial systems dominated by the great industrial powers. Moore's work is an outgrowth of the League of Nations study of the *Future Population of Europe*. Thompson's book which started as a revision of his *Danger Spots in World Population* (1929) is a much better work than the original.

Moore shows that the vital revolution has begun in Eastern and Southern Europe, but that declining mortality has met little compensation in declining fertility. That this problem of expanding population must be met by greater production and a large reduction in birth rates is the whole theme of the book. Opportunities and alternatives are not too encouraging. Agriculture is static and traditional and natural conditions so unfavorable that great improvements are not to be expected. Traditional values must undergo drastic change before fertility falls. Industrialization depends on capital that must be made available from countries already benefiting from their favorable position. Furthermore, migration offers little hope, since Moore appears both to doubt its possibility and to accept the usual view that it offers no long-time relief in areas of high fertility.

These conditions, of course, are generally known about Eastern and Southern Europe. It is Moore's task to take the relatively slippery idea of population pressure and clarify it by a comparison of per capita productivity in agriculture. He makes use of the crop unit in which the quantity of each commodity grown was given a standard weight that reflected the modal exchange ratio of that commodity in a total crop basket composed of the most important crops (five cereals and potatoes). Overpopulation is posited on the assumption that any number on the land in excess of that necessary to give the average per capita production for Europe can be counted surplus. On this basis practically all the countries studied have surplus populations. It is these objective measurements which give the work weight and value in the field of population analysis. Moore has done a valuable piece of analysis—one that places both economists and demographers in his debt.

With measurements of less precision but with equal competence, Thompson relates the resources of the Pacific to their dynamic population increases. In no case is resource utilization likely to keep pace. Population pressure continually pushes the whole region closer to intolerable limits of poverty and misery. There is, as Thompson

has argued before, an imbalance between differential population trends and the control of the region's resources. Imperialism with the colonial system is the villain. It has established internal order, lowered mortality, and even as in the case of Java raised the economic basis of livelihood. But whether exploited or benefited, the people have so multiplied as to cancel out any gain. Thus the system must go. What is to replace it? Sometimes one senses that Japan may yet become the new colonial master, but in the main Thompson places his hopes on a world organization for peace. It is here that the world goes beyond the bounds of conventional demography for it makes tremendous demands on the comparatively weak field of international organization—demands which it is as yet unable to bear.

Readers of the volume will be interested to see the changes that time and World War II have made in Professor Thompson's advocacy of demographic appeasement of Japan. He still regards white Australia as a danger zone, but instead of advocating Oriental settlement, he believes it should be opened to immigrants from areas like the Balkans.

The volume will no doubt be criticized for its failure to take Soviet Russia into account in the power system of the Pacific. Others will point out the author's failure to devise a substitute for the colonial system or to show what may happen to the native economies if it is abandoned. More attention is given to Japan (including its former empire) probably because that country serves to demonstrate both the possibility of industrialization and of fertility decline in the Orient. In regard to China and India, Thompson is frank to say that neither independence nor loans to improve agriculture and industry will avail unless national leaders in both countries are willing and able to introduce measures that will reduce total fertility.

Both books serve to give us an assurance and to raise a question. They assure us that demographic studies have come of age. They raise the question as to how far the scope and implication of population studies can be extended. Since the reviewer is an offender in the same field, he can express some of the questions that have troubled him. Thompson proceeds from population analysis to an indictment of the colonial system on a series of assumptions. Nowhere can it be assumed that the complete removal of the system by itself will change population trends nor, except in the case of Japan, improve economic adequacy. Moore

makes fewer assumptions, but it is still true that this type of population analysis is essentially a form of welfare economics. As such it seems to me we must admit that the analysis is of a lower order of complexity than economists would be willing to give such phenomena. By this means, however, it dramatizes the problem and points the way to more technical studies. Certainly economists must come to a larger understanding of and a larger participation in population studies.

RUPERT B. VANCE

University of North Carolina

JAPAN'S PROSPECT. Edited by Douglas G. Haring. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1946. 416 pp. \$4.00.

This is an important volume for the student of society, for two primary reasons among many almost equally valid: (1) It is a soundly reasoned effort to provide a basis for solving the critical problem of Japan in a future peaceful world; and (2) In providing that basis it offers also a scientific appraisal of the socio-psychological causes of war, by examining into those familial and group customs which are peculiarly Japanese and in which the individual and mass behavior of the Japanese people in this latest war undeniably had their roots.

Such an examination remains timely more than a year after Japan's defeat, by reason of the fact that policies with respect to Japan seem never to have been sufficiently clarified. Perhaps they cannot become so until after a greater number of social scientists and other responsible thinkers in this country make themselves aware of the fundamental social situation in Japan. For an understanding of this is basic to any adequate and definitive planning; and competent, informed advisors to the policy-makers, civil and military, are very much needed.

The men who wrote the various sections of this book are eminently well-fitted to further this necessary end. They, as experts chosen from various institutions, were associated together on the staff of the Harvard School for Overseas Administration during the war in training officers of the United States Army and Navy for military government in Far Eastern areas. They have had, all of them, either intimate experience in Japan or specialist experience in the several fields of government, social structure, history, and foreign relations.

Editor Haring has not attempted to make the volume encyclopedic with relation to the highly complex subject in hand. A brief but highly competent Historical Background, sketched in to show that for all its surface variety "the history of Japan, even more truly than that of other countries, is a seamless fabric," lays the foundation for much of the interpretative material that emerges in the later chapters. The analysis of Social Structure is significantly predicated upon a study of population, as reflecting the "most fundamental fact about Japanese society: that it has been a society in transition from a 'feudal' pre-industrial organization—of a very distinctive type—to a modern urbanized industrial society closer to the social type of the great industrial countries of the West than any other Oriental country." This bird's-eye view of the current social structure is broken down into a more detailed consideration of (1) the Japanese Farm-Tenancy System (basic to any understanding of a society still primarily agrarian despite the astonishingly swift turnover toward industrialism); (2) an appraisal of the Industrial and Commercial Prospect; (3) an inquiry—"Japan: Have or Have-Not Nation?"—in the effort to determine the economic implications of a "hard" or "soft" administration. The psychological aspect of the social background is covered in two chapters, "Religion, Magic and Morale," and "The Challenge of Japanese Ideology."

Moving from background to periphery in the remaining four chapters: We are offered an illuminating summary of the type of training given those officers destined for military government service in Japan and the policy and pattern of control on which that training was based; a discussion of the Prospects of Constitutional Democracy in Japan in the light of the little-realized fact that "contrary to general expectation the Japanese Constitution and the classes which used it as the instrument of their rule have managed to survive the war substantially intact"; a purview of Russian Policies in the Far East from early Czarist expansion in Siberia down to Soviet tactics before and since Japan's collapse—a sidelight so vastly important to any formulation of United Nation intentions in Japan or Korea; and an appraisal of that collapse in terms of the disintegration of Japan's imperial dominion overseas, in the chapter entitled "International and Imperialist Problems." Appendices include the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations, the State Department's initial postwar directive to

General MacArthur, the (Meiji) Constitution of Japan, and a comprehensive Guide to Reading on the general subject.

For the reader seeking general comprehension of the problem posed by Japanese habits and mentality, rather than a particularized insight into the technics of her agrarian or industrial economy, several chapters stand out in the reviewers' estimation as of especial value: the introductory chapter entitled "Japanese Situations as Criteria of Practical Policy" (unsigned but subscribed to by all the contributors); Chapter X on the "Prospects of Constitutional Democracy" by Frederick M. Watkins; and the two chapters (VII and VIII) on "Religion, Magic and Morale" and "Japanese Ideology" written by the editor.

The introductory chapter discusses "certain physical and societal facts that define some of the limits of practical policy toward Japan." Among the first is the geographic handicap imposed by the fact that "seventy-odd million Japanese are crowded into an area no larger than California, only 15 percent of which is arable;" and though one may reasonably argue that "the number of people in Japan is a consequence of Japanese beliefs and habits of living," and that the rest of the world is not responsible for the dilemma or its solution, nevertheless it is our responsibility, as the present administrators of Japan, to decide how in the immediate future these 70 millions are to be maintained in the maximum of internal peace and with the minimum of danger to the outside world.

Then there is the handicap imposed by the extraordinary psychological homogeneity of the Japanese people, "rooted in generations of discipline" if not in that complete racial unity which the Japanese themselves like to claim. Here is a handicap to educational and emotional change more subtle but perhaps more disastrous to democratic hopes than any other, for, thanks to this long-term and deliberate disciplinary policy, we are told that "few people in history have been as like-minded as the Japanese" or as little acquainted—"in a casual neighborly sense"—with the rest of the world: even those who are Western-trained and traveled "rarely forget their role as Japanese and think of themselves simply as men." (Many of us, out of personal experience, can cite encouraging and notable exceptions; but the general observation probably remains true.) Out of this discipline and regimentation in daily life one is confronted by the phenomenon of "tension as a typical aspect of

Japanese personality"—that "tautness and emotional strain in individual persons" recognition of which is "*a sine qua non* of dealing with Japanese." And this erects another hurdle in the path of a workable and effective policy of foreign administration—one recognized by psychiatrists in dealing with individuals but probably not by military men in dealing with alien social groups—tension and strain, the "outward symptoms of inner conflict." What looks to the Western eye like the horns of an authentic dilemma is posed by the difficult administrative requirement stated immediately above, when followed shortly by the dictum: "Japanese participation in a peaceful, ordered world . . . is contingent upon emotional reorientation."

Whether or not that reorientation, if achieved, can be expected to manifest itself practically and effectively in some form of constitutional democracy to replace totalitarianism is the question which interests Professor Watkins, a student of the historic development of the forms of constitutional autocracy in Japan. Whether the "considerable aptitude" shown for adopting from Western Europe "the earlier and more aristocratic phases of constitutional evolution" is legitimate evidence for believing the final phase of democratization to be "equally within their capacity"; or whether the spirit of docility long induced (among other causes) by the Japanese family system and religion will successfully inhibit the growth of democratic initiative (itself, in the West, the outgrowth of a far different family structure and religion), is a riddle that Professor Watkins seems to think only time and the great levelling processes of industrialism may solve. But in summing up a fascinating chapter on the derivatives of modern Japanese constitutionalism, he yet feels that "to discount the prospects of constitutional democracy in Japan . . . would be extremely unwise."

Professor Haring's contribution is unique and convincing, being a social anthropologist's appraisal of historical and social factors affecting the current situation, and his conclusions as to wise policy. The key to his conception of the solution of the whole problem lies in his three short words: "Japan needs thinkers." Beginning with the individual from infancy in the home, through liberal education in all its phases, through guaranteeing the free circulation of true facts and

knowledge through books, press, radio and cinema, through the right of free assembly, discussion and expression of the people's will—only so can the Japanese people discover real freedom and work out for themselves their own forms of responsible democratic living that will enable them to take their place and part in a world in which the leaven of enlightenment is slowly re-working humanity. That menace to peace, the archaic nationalism and feudalism whose pivot is the fabricated cult of the divinity of the emperor, the sanctity and unique destiny of Japan, cannot be dissipated by fiat or suppression or supervision. Enlightenment alone can work the miracle of releasing the Japanese from habitual self-delusion, and that enlightenment cannot be imposed, but must grow within Japan by processes similar to those that have created it elsewhere in the world. The circulation of books will be of material aid, for the Japanese are great readers. The reviewers would suggest that the translation of portions of the book under review (particularly Professor Haring's chapters on "Religion, Magic and Morale" and "The Challenge of Japanese Ideology"; "Population and Social Structure," by Edward A. Ackerman; and Professor Watkins' "Prospects of Constitutional Democracy") and its wide circulation in a cheap edition in Japanese, would constitute a great contribution. But the tone of this skillful appraisal and critique of the history and nature of existing Japanese synthetic cultural national imperialism should be somewhat changed, so that it would be more persuasive, less condemnatory. It is for the Japanese themselves (once liberated) to ridicule, to excoriate the medievalism they have so long endured and which produced complete diasaster for them.

One very serious criticism must be leveled at the book as a whole. There is too little recognition of the fact that Japan is part and parcel of the great regional sphere including South, East and Southeast Asia, in which authentic Asian movements toward freedom are welling up irresistibly. Recognition of this fact is indeed basic to any program of reform and enlightenment, for the Japanese people and civilization are ninety-nine and some hundredths percent Asiatic, and no amount of American, or Russian, influence is going to change that.

ELIZABETH AND CRAIGHILL HANDY

Oakton, Virginia

CHINESE FAMILY AND SOCIETY. By Olga Lang. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946. 395 pp. \$4.00.

This book is published under the auspices of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations and the Institute of Social Research. It is a fruitful result representing the concrete experience and distilled knowledge of the author's several years of intensive field study on a people whose mode of life and social structure still remain somewhat enigmatic to the average American.

As a social worker, Miss Lang sees the supreme interest of making this study because China, with her possession of tremendous human forces, is striving to reshape the destiny of individual, family, and society. Miss Lang's direct source of information is based on case histories and statistical data taken from some 4000 records of the Social Service Department of the Peiping Union Medical College Hospital; 644 interviews with representatives of the different social classes and age groups in Peiping, Tientsin, Shanghai, Wusih, and Fukien; 1700 questionnaires filled out by students in 22 colleges and 8 high schools in 10 cities of North, South and Central China; and a survey of the life of 26 clans in Fukien and Kwangtung.

Departing from the traditional scheme of writing a book on and about China, the present undertaking can be regarded as a notable contribution in the sense that the work is not too superficial, and the author confines the theme within the realm of her professional interest and observational empiricism.

Another point worthy of consideration is that Miss Lang has spent considerable time and effort in field work and in collecting data which, meticulously assembled in the form of notation and appendix, tends to clarify the complex nature of all the problems and issues under discussion.

The author's expertness and penetration in interpreting China's multitude of vital problems in the sphere of dynamic social interaction, where the mixture of old and new constantly competes to lead China into a complex but brighter arena of hope, are also commendable.

However, commenting on the book from a different perspective, the reviewer wishes to state that many of the sections of the book do not lead the reader to a smooth area of agreement.

In the first place, owing to its inherent weakness and because of the improper method of presentation, the ponderous aggregation of statistics tends

to lead the reader into confusion. Most of the figures and data in the book, especially in Part II, are more or less in the form of a conglomeration, rather than in a centrality of thought with integrated meaning.

Secondly, the author's scheme of reasoning seems to attach too much weight to the Marxian philosophy of economic determinism. Whether in her discussion of the large family system as an upper-class phenomenon, or on the institution of concubinage, Miss Lang oversimplifies the complex nature of the principle of causality and relegates to a place of insignificance all the psychological, biological, educational, and other social elements which undoubtedly play an important part in China's great welter of historic evolution.

Thirdly, the segregation of certain areas in China as Soviet districts shows that the author's impartiality is often interlarded with political bias. The overemphasis of the term "Soviet districts," which can well be substituted with the already-established names of the respective provinces involved, is misleading and therefore unnecessary. Furthermore, the author's technique of evaluation exposes her to the criticism of political encomium because of her tendency to glorify the Soviet system.

Lastly, Miss Lang's scheme of classification is dubious and controversial. It faces the dilemma of intellectual vagrancy. Her table XVI on Income and Political Sympathies (p. 317), her analysis of different strata of modernization (p. 101), and her attempted definition of the "stem souche" type of family as distinguished from the other types are examples.

In spite of these minor irregularities, the book is highly recommended, largely because the author deals with the most vital phase of life in China, whose myriad problems, because of her huge population, vast territory, and abundance of resources both in historical experience and in raw materials, are entwined in our modern system of real international order. As the author emphatically puts it: China needs world culture to become happy and prosperous. The world needs China to develop its civilization to the highest possible level.

The author's frank and direct method in approaching this important topic during the critical hours of China's great political and social tension also invites the reader.

N. Q. TSE

National Resources Commission of China

ANATOMY OF RACIAL INTOLERANCE. Compiled by George B. de Huszar. (The Reference Shelf, Vol. 18, No. 5.) New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1946. 283 pp. \$1.25.

In this volume, de Huszar has brought together thirty-two articles dealing with the problem of racial prejudice and discrimination in the United States. These articles, drawn from seventeen different sources, have been written by persons of varying degrees of competence and training. Nearly two thirds of these essays were published within the last two years—1944 and 1945.

The compiler conceives of racial intolerance as one of "the most dangerous tensions" in modern society since "it is heavily charged with mob passion, prejudice, and fear." And, thus it can be manipulated by the few for their selfish ends. "Race relations are bound to be a persistent international and domestic issue" (p. 3). Particularly in the United States "the war has created tension between various racial, social, and religious groups. This tension will continue and may be aggravated by the problems of postwar adjustment." It is the opinion of the compiler that the nature and causes of racial prejudices must be considered intelligently.

The thirty-two articles are grouped into four sections: "What Race Is"; "General Discussion"; "Causes of Race Prejudice"; and "Remedies for Race Prejudice." Two essays fall in the first section; nine, in the second; eight, in the third; and, finally, the remaining thirteen articles fall in the last group.

There is considerable difference in the quality, maturity of scholarship, and the breadth of insight in these articles. Broadly speaking, there are ten articles which are of interest to theoretically-minded students of race and culture contacts. The remaining twenty-two articles are useful to those interested in the applied sciences or social action programs. The articles by Robert Redfield, W. M. Krogman, Hortense Powdermaker, Scudder Mekeel, J. F. Brown, G. W. Allport, A. I. Katsh, H. L. Shapiro, and Margaret Mead may be regarded as belonging to the first group. The other articles by such persons as W. H. Kilpatrick, E. R. Embree, A. Rubin, G. J. Segal, Malcolm Ross, A. A. Alexander, G. H. Dunne, Donald Day, Sister Mary de Lourdes, G. N. Shuster, and L. B. Granger present bold statements of the existing "evils" in our society and show the existing gulf

between "policies" and "practices." This is a wide gulf and the root of racial tensions is explained chiefly in terms of it. Remedies suggested seek to bridge this gap.

Throughout all these articles dealing with the causes of and remedies for racial discrimination and intolerance, there is a great deal of optimism. Whether this optimism is "the spirit of the time" or not will be interesting to watch in the future. This optimism has its basis in the crisis just passed: in a time of major crisis dissimilar peoples can come together and work toward a common goal. Can this gain be maintained in the postwar adjustment? It is on this question that psychiatrists offer noteworthy suggestions. They seem to agree that the people must be made free from the fear of economic, personal, and social insecurity, since anxiety and fear may turn toward scapegoating. (See, articles by Levy and Minsky.)

Racial prejudices are acquired early in one's life—through informal conversations at home and in the neighborhood where one forms his basic personality. To control and eliminate prejudices, the community as a whole must be organized—the school alone cannot do this task. The cases of the Springfield Plan and other experiments in inter-group cooperation are cited to show what can be done. Nearly one hundred pages are devoted to the remedies for race prejudices. S. G. Cole, R. J. Havighurst, C. R. Miller, and Margaret Mead have clear expositions on this point.

The students who have followed race and cultural problems carefully will find no new materials in this volume. They will, however, find this book very useful as a reference. The compiler must be congratulated for his selection and the arrangement of these articles. He has made them available to students interested in this perplexing problem of race relations in the United States.

JITSUICHI MASUOKA

Fisk University

THE MASTERS AND THE SLAVES. By Gilberto Freyre. (Tr. by Samuel Putnam.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946. 537 pp. \$7.50.

At last Freyre's now classic work on Brazilian social history, *Casa Grande e Senzala*, has been rendered into English and made available to those who do not read Portuguese. This is a noteworthy event for all students of the social and cultural sciences, as well as for those primarily interested in Latin America and its cultures.

Although to most of the latter, the work is familiar in one or other of its four editions in Portuguese, the translator of the present edition has not only done the work into smooth and excellent English, but he has also carefully annotated all points not familiar to experts in Brazilian culture and literature. He has also added considerably to the bibliography and has provided a glossary of Brazilian terms. Thus the present book is enlarged and improved over the previous editions.

The work is really an analysis of the historical blending of several cultures into that fusion which is known as Brazilian civilization. It begins with a consideration of Portuguese culture at the time of the Conquest, a culture which had been strongly influenced by nearly eight centuries of Iberian occupation by the Moors and, later, by a century or more of exploration and trading with peoples of Africa and the Far East. As Freyre tells it, this experience of "acculturation" of the Portuguese by non-European peoples made the Portuguese Empire possible. A nation of barely one million inhabitants in the sixteenth century, Portugal fortunately had little color prejudice, and its sons who were forced to go womanless to Brazil had no hesitancy in propagating themselves on Indian and Negro women, thus populating a vast area which was beyond the unaided genetic resources of the mother country. Having borrowed ideas, artifacts, and customs from non-Europeans for centuries, the Portuguese colonizers of Brazil likewise had no difficulty in taking over native and African culture traits which appeared useful in the Brazilian situation, and weaving these diverse elements together with the Portuguese cultural heritage into something new and different, better adapted to the climate and the social conditions than a purer transmission of any of the parent cultures would have been.

In his tracing of such developments Freyre takes the position of modern cultural anthropology and frankly states his debt to Franz Boas and other North American teachers under whom he studied. He is interested in all aspects of culture, all phases of the mode of life. Thus his material ranges from cradle songs and rural cuisine to political systems and theological apologies. His data come from published sources, original field observation, and unpublished historical documents unearthed by himself.

After untangling the diverse strands of Brazilian

culture from their Portuguese, native Indian, and Negro (or African) fabrics, the author comes to the analysis of the Brazilian institution through whose instrumentality the fusion of racial and cultural elements took place on the Brazilian coast—the big house and slave quarters (*Casa grande e senzala*). Although in outward form the Brazilian sugar plantations showed many similarities to the cotton plantations of the United States' South, the definition of the social relations between masters and slaves was in many respects radically different, largely for reasons which the previous cultural analysis exposes. Along the north coast of Brazil the plantation owners had more or less open sexual access to their female slaves, and their mulatto offspring were in many cases legitimized and raised as scions of the house, succeeding to their father's property, receiving advanced education, and entering into public life of the colony. Yet, the fact that they were reared during their tender years by their Negro mothers, often in the slave quarters themselves, provided them with an African and slave-culture background which made for democracy and for mutual understanding between the social categories. This is perhaps the central point of the book, although it is elaborated with discussion of numerous exceptions, interpretations of special cases, and a wealth of details.

The style of the work is informal and on the whole makes good reading. As the author himself says in one of his prefaces, many of his critics considered his approach too informal for a work of science. It is doubtful that many North American readers will voice this complaint. On the other hand, the book is somewhat overly prolix and loosely organized. The same point is often made over and over again, always in an interesting, but sometimes in a rambling manner, so that the busy reader is inclined to say, "I got you the first time." In part this is due to the fact that the author is attempting to refute the "racial" theories of Brazilian development which were strong in Brazilian literary circles at the time he wrote; in part it is to be explained by the novelty of the material and the cultural approach, both of which were almost unknown in Latin American social science at the time and which doubtless required an unusual amount of repetition to carry weight under the circumstances.

JOHN GILLIN

University of North Carolina

RESEARCH AND REGIONAL WELFARE. Edited by Robert E. Coker. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946. 229 pp. \$3.00.

This volume of The University of North Carolina Sesquicentennial Publications gives permanent form to the major addresses of a three day conference held at the University in the spring of 1945 as a part of its Sesquicentennial celebration. For the theme of the conference the Committee selected research and its relation to regional welfare, a subject of unusual interest and importance to the public and at the same time singularly appropriate for an occasion which marked a milestone in the years of service of a state university. A notable group of scholars and leaders from business, the professions, and governmental service was assembled to discuss this subject.

In addition to general accounts of what scientific research has done for the South and the nation, of the relatively poorer facilities in the South, and of the need for wider development and use in the future, these papers include presentations of accomplishments and opportunities in a variety of specific fields, nutrition, medicine, fisheries, agriculture, and industry, with the last receiving particular attention. Except for the two papers on literary and historical research, the emphasis throughout is on contributions to regional welfare through practical applications of research. The well-phrased Introduction by Dr. Coker, outlining the need for research, and David E. Lilienthal's "The Moral Responsibility of Research" (although it is the penultimate instead of the final chapter) provide a thought-provoking framework for the other papers. The social scientist and many others without his professional interest, will notice the absence of any account of the basic contribution of social science research to regional development, and their attention should be called to another one of the Sesquicentennial Publications, *In Search of the Regional Balance of America*.

Research and Regional Welfare is a report of a conference and not an integrated treatise. No amount of editorial effort could make a continuous logical presentation from a number of papers prepared individually for oral delivery, and the editor has wisely refrained from the attempt. The papers are presented as they were delivered without eliminating the rhetoric of introductory remarks and the inevitable duplications of illustration and emphasis. Thus the reader catches some of the spirit of the occasion even though all the

stimulation and intellectual ferment which pervaded the meetings cannot be reproduced on paper. This report gives a large part of the conference to people who could not attend; it is a gift which those who were present can recommend highly.

EDITH WEBB WILLIAMS

Syracuse, New York

THEORY AND PRACTICE IN HISTORICAL STUDY: A REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON HISTORIOGRAPHY. (Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 54.) New York: Social Science Research Council, 1946. 177 pp. \$1.75.

With this volume the Social Science Research Council continues its valuable series of methodological studies in the Social Sciences. This is an attempt to clarify the nature of historical thought. It begins with a chapter by Charles A. Beard entitled "Grounds for a Reconsideration of Historiography." Professor Beard defines historiography as "the business of studying, thinking about, and writing about history." He points to the wide use of history-as-actuality both by men of practical affairs and by men of the humanistic sciences to make generalizations or abstractions which in turn serve their causes or advance their sciences. He further shows the difference between history-as-actuality and history as written by historians. He calls upon the historians "to examine their assumptions, procedures, and results" to gain "greater comprehensiveness, exactitude, and utility for theory and practice in the world of thought and action."

The second chapter by John Herman Randall, Jr. and George Haines, IV entitled "Controlling Assumptions in the Practice of American Historians" is a brief historical review of the writings of American historians or rather of the principles which have guided them in their writings. The authors first make it clear that the historian must make selections and that the basis of selection is "a certain choice of allegiance, an act of faith in one kind of future rather than another," along with an objective sense of what is basic for the problem to be discussed. An appreciation and criticism follows of those who laid the foundations of critical and scientific historical work in the United States with a brief glance at their predecessors and their foreign contemporaries. The chapter gains enthusiasm as it comes to Turner's use of "a full-fledged hypothesis to guide the investigation and interpretation of historical facts" and an air of superiority as it advances from that into the

contemporary scene with its "practical recognition of the functional nature of historical knowledge."

This brief summary does not do justice to a brilliant and highly suggestive study. It might have been well for the authors while rightly pointing out the subjective character of the work of the objective or scientific historians to have indicated more vigorously than they have the dangers as well as the advantages of the use of hypotheses. These have led to much bad history as well as to much good.

The following chapter by Howard K. Beale, "What Historians Have Said about the Causes of the Civil War," gives point to the last remark. This able study shows quite clearly the advantages of the hypothesis in the discovery of facts and also its danger when the conclusion belabors the facts to fit the hypothesis. One who knows little about the subject comes away from Professor Beale's chapter with the feeling that the definitive history of the Civil War has not yet been written and probably can never be. His conclusions are well worth careful rereading.

Chapter IV, "Problems of Terminology in Historical Writing," consists of an explanatory foreword by Professor Beard and a series of definitions by Sidney Hook. These definitions illustrate the extreme difficulties arising from casual and varied uses of words. This attempt was certainly worth while. Of particular value are Professor Hook's definitions of cause and of progress.

In Chapter V the committee lays down certain Propositions, entitled Basic Premises, Important Sources of Methodological Error, Desirable Principles and Techniques, and History and Related Disciplines. Taken together they set forth the high ideals of the historical profession.

An exceedingly valuable and useful "Selective Reading List on Historiography and The Philosophy of History" brings the book to a conclusion. This bibliography by itself would be sufficient justification for the publication of the volume.

WALLACE E. CALDWELL

University of North Carolina

RECREATION AND THE TOTAL PERSONALITY. By S. R. Slavson. New York: Association Press, 1946. 205 pp. \$3.00.

With the present importance of recreation in the life of the Democracy and with the tremendous expansion of recreation services along all lines, public, private and commercial, *Recreation and the Total Personality* is a very timely book. Mr.

Slavson has made a valuable contribution to recreation leadership throughout the nation in his analysis of goals and methods for creating more abundant recreation opportunities for the masses of the people.

Too often recreation is a process of taking care of leisure time or of practicing an activity which is known by an individual or group, without consideration given to why we do what we do. This book blends theory and practice into perspective as a derivative of man's basic needs. Emphasis is given to a full study of recreation's role in releasing unconscious and repressed impulses, cravings, and sublimating aggressions and expressing constructive drives.

The author has clearly analyzed recreation as it relates to education, mental hygiene, social work, psychology, sociology, and group work. The approach is to consider man as a whole in his total environment. Social and economic conditions are indicated as conditioning forces in relation to modern institutions and agencies that are serving the recreation needs of the people.

The book presents a "ground breaking attempt" to unify the forces and groups now functioning in recreation. The nature and scope of recreation, its unconscious motivations, along with its relations to the individual, the group, and the democratic process are discussed. A unique feature of the book is a chapter devoted to a demonstration of the new recreation. This experiment proved of effective value and indicates detailed procedure.

There is a growing need for recreation research and study that will bring to leadership more effective techniques with which to do the job. There is a quantity of material on activities, but a dearth of material in the field of philosophy and theory related to practice. Mr. Slavson through *Recreation and the Total Personality* has filled in a gap and opened a doorway to a clearer understanding of the pursuits of recreation in relation to individuals and groups.

HAROLD D. MEYER

University of North Carolina

DYNAMICS OF LEARNING. By Nathaniel Cantor. Buffalo: Foster and Stewart Publishing Corporation, 1946. 282 pp. \$3.00.

Dynamics of Learning is a provocative and stimulating book. In fact, it is so challenging that it has the tendency to set the reader against the author. This seems especially unfortunate

because teaching ways in college settings could profit by the content and method so ably discussed by Mr. Cantor in the middle and latter part of the book.

In his first chapter, "Education: The Handmaid to Recreation," he paints in the extreme the dark and evil vicissitudes of higher education. Our institutions of higher learning are to blame, for example, for the "intolerant spirit of our generation of adults," our "national leaders distilling poison," the D. A. R.'s who refuse to rent Constitution Hall to Negro artists, and various other social ills. After accusing higher education of its grievous faults, he hastens to add, "I am not trying to make our education system the whipping boy of the ills of society." Unfortunately, the conscientious teacher who is seeking help in this book feels by this time thoroughly chastened and bowed-down with the sins that he has committed as a college teacher, so that he may well feel that even Mr. Cantor cannot save him.

Mr. Cantor seems to feel possessed with the necessity to portray his dragon in almost every chapter and then slay him. After this is accomplished he produces material from his own rich experience in teaching, which is of inestimable value. One wishes that Mr. Cantor's dragon could have been slain in his study and laid away under his desk so that he could have proceeded to deliver his own creation without so much portrayal of his own struggle. Some of his dragons are not even properly portrayed. For example, "With few exceptions, the essential goal of the American college remains that of fact-gathering." The American college does not seem to lack goals and certainly one of the goals does not seem to be "fact-gathering." The True, the Beautiful, and the Good, as well as the Creation of the Responsible Citizen and the Thinker are some of the goals held consistently by most college faculties. To whip the delinquent colleges on a false generalization seems not only uncharitable but also weakens the argument of the author as well as the patience of the reader.

If the reader can forgive Mr. Cantor's scolding and nagging, he can be richly rewarded by the rest of the book. His terse epigrammatical style makes the reading pleasant and awakens the reader's awareness. His chapters on "Resistance," "Ambivalence," "Projection," and "Identification" are clear and thoughtful and are well related to the teacher's function.

The only point upon which this reviewer differs from Mr. Cantor in teaching is about the use of "opposition." I do not feel as he does that the teacher in his own person should carry opposition to the student; rather, it is the demands of the task that should challenge both teacher and student. To separate from the student by opposition is to accentuate further in the student's feelings his ever-present fear of inadequacy. The subject matter properly apportioned through assignments and class topics in relation to the student's growing abilities is the challenge. The teacher's role is to understand the difficulty of mastery as well as to hold the student to the realities of the task. It is very confusing to know where Mr. Cantor stands on this problem because on the following page he maintains that criticism should be partial and objectified so that "he [the student] does not have to defend himself" (p. 165).

ISABELLE K. CARTER

University of North Carolina

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH. Edited by W. Carson Ryan, J. Minor Gwynn, and Arnold K. King. (A University of North Carolina Sesquicentennial publication.) Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946. 269 pp. \$3.00.

Periodic stock-taking is an essential part of progress. Identification of future promise is equally necessary if opportunity is to be seized. *Secondary Education in the South* performs these two functions well; in doing so it makes a real contribution to the future development of what has been described as "the most educationally alive region in America."

This volume is a collection of fairly discrete articles which deal with fourteen phases of the development of high school education in the South. The treatments are historical for the most part, but the material is well-selected and a high standard of readability is maintained.

Three contributions are made by this volume. In the first place, it assembles much material on secondary education which has heretofore been unrecorded in published form, or has been scattered among many sources. In the second place, it serves to convince the reader that the southern region can be proud of the progress it has made and that there need be no inferiority complex to block even greater improvement efforts in the future. In the third place, it highlights through editorial emphasis the regional cooperation for the

solution of educational problems which is the unique characteristic of southern education.

In a publication of this kind one can hardly expect deeply penetrating, thematic analysis. The opening chapter, by Edgar W. Knight, sets the stage excellently for interpreting the development of secondary education in terms of the broad social forces at work among the southern folk, but succeeding chapters fail to play upon this stage. The material they present is factual; they leave to the reader the task of social interpretation.

Particularly noteworthy are the descriptions given of recent cooperative projects: the experimental programs in the Southern Associations, the Southern States Work Conference, and the work in resource-use education spearheaded by the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education. It is indeed gratifying to have available in concise form information which heretofore has not been available to the typical person engaged in school work.

The reviewer wishes the volume had concluded with a presentation of the major problems and issues faced in planning the future of secondary education in the southern region, thereby giving point to what has been and focus to what can be. Even without this, however, the volume is a distinct contribution to educational literature and should serve a useful function upon the shelves of most school and community leaders.

L. D. HASKEW

Emory University

COVERING THE COURTS. By Curtis D. MacDougall. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1946. 713 pp. \$7.00.

Here is a comprehensive guide book written by a broadly informed professor of journalism for newspaper men who "cover the courts." His four-part, definitively pointed treatment has to do with the law's Origins and Survivals, its Civil, Criminal, and Appellate aspects. No one will question his prefatory emphasis that news reporters especially need books of reference, that the usual books on law, political science, economics, and sociology are not enough. It must have been a hard book to put together with such inclusiveness and balance. The author realizes that there is scarcely a statement that can be made to apply universally; even terminology may vary from one jurisdiction to another. Not only journalists but

also teachers in the social sciences generally, those in criminology particularly, will find it very useful.

His style has a vigorous warmth, a pleasing flavor—not incompatible with reportorial detachment—as he deals with certain survivals in our legal procedures. Such terms as "embalmed judicial reasoning of the past," "ridiculous situations still exist," "absolutist thinking has been the curse of leaders in every field," and so on, add spice to what otherwise would be flat, flavorless, and dull.

In his discussion of origins and survivals in the law, in the courts, in legal rights, and in his treatment of the present trends, he presents with acceptable brevity the evolution and relationships of law and custom. The early pages trace old naturalistic theories, the role of custom, the ecclesiastical influences, and the origins of the several main categories of law. He looks hard at *stare decisis* ("to stand by decided cases, to uphold precedents, to maintain former adjudications") referring to and illustrating it throughout the book.

The second part, on Civil law, takes up pretrial procedure, the trial, law enforcement, contracts, torts, equity, property and inheritance, and other civil actions such as bankruptcy and divorce. It is in this and the remaining parts of the book that many illustrative cases are included, often followed by news stories about them.

Some twenty pages of discussion of crime and the criminal open the third part. Most sociologists would try to improve on these particular pages here and there, notably in his definition of criminal as a person who has broken a law and has been convicted in a court of law for so doing. However, the reporter who assimilates the author's brief offerings at this point will have far more sociological adequacy than most of them now have. The sociologist will find helpful the definitions and illustrations treated under classification of crimes, law enforcement, criminal procedure, trials, and punishment.

The fourth part, on Appellate Law, deals mainly with procedure, hearings, decisions, and the functioning of the Supreme Court. The last paragraph of the book stresses the responsibility of the press to provide the essential information and intelligent interpretation on the administration of justice, without which no progress whatever is possible in a democratic society. "This book has been an attempt to help prepare newspapermen for that prodigious task."

A work which covers so much ground is bound to

slip occasionally. For example, the brief discussion of adoption has a negative slant even though contextually the intention is to coincide with the best present theory and practice. The deprecatory emphasis on Hollywood adoptions, pregnancy avoiders, and baby-for-sale-cradling-homes is doubtless partly responsible for the remarkable statement that "no infant should be taken from its mother for weeks, if not months, after birth, and the natural love of a mother can never be surpassed by that of a foster parent—no matter how ornate the physical surroundings."

The book is nicely written, well-tempered, and splendidly indexed, with many reproductions of typical documents used in the courts. It clarifies much legal jargon. It is a volume that should be used often and gratefully by journalists, social scientists, and others. Unfortunately the price is high. Professor MacDougall deserves a hearty "well done!"

LEE M. BROOKS

University of North Carolina

NEW BOOKS RECEIVED

- WITH FIRMNESS IN THE RIGHT. AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC ACTION AFFECTING JEWS, 1840-1945.** By Cyrus Adler and Aaron M. Margalith. New York: The American Jewish Committee, 1946. 489 pp. \$4.00.
- ALABAMA'S INDUSTRIAL OPPORTUNITIES.** Volume V—Paper and Allied Products Printing, Publishing, and Allied Industries. Montgomery, Alabama: Alabama State Planning Board, 1946. 88 pp.
- GROUP WORK—CASE WORK COOPERATION. A SYMPOSIUM.** Sponsored by The American Association of Group Workers. New York: Association Press, 1946. 49 pp. \$0.50.
- THE AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK 5707 (1946-47).** Volume 48. Prepared by the staff of The American Jewish Committee. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1946. 691 pp. \$3.00.
- ANNUAL REPORT 1945.** Chicago Plan Commission. Chicago: Chicago Plan Commission, 1945. 35 pp.
- ANNUAL REPORT, 1945.** General Education Board. New York: General Education Board, 1946. 136 pp.
- THE SHORE DIMLY SEEN.** By Ellis Gibbs Arnall. Philadelphia and New York. J. B. Lippincott Company, 1946. 312 pp. \$3.00.
- TUTORING AS THERAPY.** By Grace Arthur. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1946. 125 pp. \$1.50.
- WOMEN IN INDUSTRY. THEIR HEALTH AND EFFICIENCY.** By Anna M. Baetjer. (Issued under the Auspices of the Division of Medical Sciences and the Division of Engineering and Industrial Research of the National Research Council.) Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1946. 344 pp. \$4.00.
- ADJUSTMENT TO PHYSICAL HANDICAP AND ILLNESS: A SURVEY OF THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF PHYSIQUE AND DISABILITY.** By Roger G. Barker, Beatrice A. Wright, and Mollie R. Gonick. New York: Social Science Research Council. (Bulletin 55, 1946.) 372 pp. \$2.00.
- RELIGIOUS LIBERTY: AN INQUIRY.** By M. Searle Bates. (Studies in The World Mission of Christianity No. VI.) New York: International Missionary Council, 1945. 604 pp. \$3.50.
- DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY IN LOUISIANA.** By J. Allan Beegle and T. Lynn Smith. Louisiana Bulletin No. 403, June, 1946. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1946. 44 pp.
- THE CHRYSANTHEMUM AND THE SWORD. PATTERNS OF JAPANESE CULTURE.** By Ruth Benedict. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946. 324 pp. \$3.00.
- CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING PAPERS.** By Alfred Bettman. Edited by Arthur C. Comey, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1946. 294 pp. \$4.50. (Harvard City Planning Studies No. 13.)
- SEX EDUCATION: A GUIDE FOR PARENTS, TEACHERS AND YOUTH LEADERS.** By Cyril Bibby. New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1946. 311 pp. \$2.50.
- PROBLEMS IN RELIGION AND LIFE.** By Anton T. Boisen. New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1946. 159 pp. \$1.50.
- OUT OF UNIFORM.** By Benjamin C. Bowker. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1946. 259 pp. \$2.75.
- WESTERN WORLD. A STUDY OF THE FORCES SHAPING OUR TIME.** By Royce Brier. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1946. 272 pp. \$2.50.
- THE ABSOLUTE WEAPON: ATOMIC POWER AND WORLD ORDER.** Edited by Bernard Brodie. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 214 pp. \$2.00.
- KENTUCKY CITY FINANCES.** By the Bureau of Business Research. (Bulletin of The Bureau of Business Research, College of Commerce, No. 12.) Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky and The Kentucky Municipal League, 1946. 275 pp.

- SCIENCE IN A CHANGING WORLD. By Emmett James Cable, Robert Ward Getchell, and William Henry Kadesch. Rev. Ed. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1946. 622 pp. \$5.00.
- SPANISH FOLK-POETRY IN NEW MEXICO. By Arthur Leon Campa. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1946. 224 pp. \$3.00.
- DYNAMICS OF LEARNING. By Nathaniel Cantor. Buffalo, N. Y.: Foster & Stewart, 1946. 282 pp. \$3.00.
- EXECUTIVE ABILITY. ITS DISCOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT. By Glen U. Cleeton and Charles W. Mason. Yellow Springs, Ohio: The Antioch Press, 1946. 540 pp. \$4.50.
- FRONTIER ON THE POTOMAC. By Jonathan Daniels. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946. 262 pp. \$2.75.
- THE TENNESSEE. VOL. I: THE OLD RIVER, FRONTIER TO SECESSION. By Donald Davidson. Illustrated by Theresa Sherrer Davidson. New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1946. (Rivers of America Series.) 342 pp. \$3.00.
- ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAY. AMBASSADRESS FROM RUSSIA. By Isabel de Palencia. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1947. 309 pp. \$3.50.
- AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IN ACTION. By Marshall Edward Dimock and Gladys Ogden Dimock. New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1946. 946 pp. \$4.50.
- THE MONEY VALUE OF A MAN. By Louis I. Dublin and Alfred J. Lotka. Rev. ed. New York, N. Y.: The Ronald Press Company, 1946. 214 pp. \$6.00.
- RELIGION, ITS FUNCTIONS IN HUMAN LIFE. A STUDY OF RELIGION FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF PSYCHOLOGY. By Knight Dunlap. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1946. 362 pp. \$3.50.
- ZACHARY TAYLOR. By Brainerd Dyer. Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1946. 455 pp. \$4.00.
- THE GOOD CROP. By Elizabeth H. Emerson. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1946. 297 pp. \$2.50.
- THE PROBLEM OF FERTILITY. Edited by Earl T. Engle. (Proceedings of the Conference on Fertility held under the auspices of the National Committee on Maternal Health.) Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1946. 254 pp. \$3.75.
- THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS IN ALABAMA. RECESS AND INTERIM COMMITTEES. By Hallie Farmer. University, Alabama: Bureau of Public Administration, 1946. 43 pp.
- SHORT STORIES. By James T. Farrell. New York: Penguin Books, Inc., 1946. 213 pp. 25¢.
- THE THEORY OF HUMAN CULTURE. By James Feibleman. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1946. 361 pp. \$5.00.
- THE UNIVERSITY BUREAUS OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. Papers by James W. Fesler and others. University, Alabama: Bureau of Public Administration, 1946. 87 pp.
- LAND USE IN CENTRAL BOSTON. By Walter Firey. (Harvard Sociological Studies, Volume IV.) Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1947. 367 pp. \$5.00.
- DANIEL COIT GILMAN. CREATOR OF THE AMERICAN TYPE OF UNIVERSITY. By Abraham Flexner. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1946. 173 pp. \$2.00.
- WHITE MAN YELLOW MAN. By Arva C. Floyd. Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1946. 207 pp. \$1.75.
- FOOD, FAMINE & RELIEF, 1940-46. ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL AND TRANSIT DEPARTMENT. (Series of League of Nations Publication.) Geneva: League of Nations, 1946. (Distributed by International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, New York.) 162 pp. \$1.50.
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